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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY
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THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY IS NOT RESPONSIBLE
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THE BLOOMER POLKA.
PORTRAIT OF Mrs AMELIA BLOOMER FROM A DAGUERREOTYPE BY FFRENCH
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The New-York Historical Society

THE NEW-YORK
HISTORICAL SOCIETY
QUARTERLY

October 1952

VOLUME XXXVI NUMBER FOUR

New York: 170 Central Park West

AMELIA BLOOMER AND BLOOMERISM

by PAUL FATOUT

Department of English, Purdue University

AT THIRTY, Amelia Jenks Bloomer was an auburn-haired, petite and comely creature whose dainty fragility belied the resolution of an independent spirit. In July 1848 she attended the first public meeting on woman's rights in Seneca Falls, New York. She was deputy postmaster of that town, and a contributor of articles, signed "Gloriana" and "Eugene," on morality, temperance, social questions, and politics to the *Temperance Star*, *Water Bucket*, *Free Soil Union*, and *Seneca County Courier*.

In the fall of 1848 she audaciously proposed that the local ladies' temperance society sponsor a journal for women. The ladies endorsed the proposal, but before the project materialized they succumbed to timidity or masculine ridicule, and washed their hands of the unprecedented enterprise. Nevertheless, stubborn Amelia, against the advice of her Quaker husband, Dexter C. Bloomer, and with the dubious assistance of Anna C. Mattison as co-editor, launched in Seneca Falls on January 1, 1849, the

first American magazine published by and for women: "*The Lily*. A Monthly Journal Devoted to Temperance and Literature. Published by a Committee of Ladies."[1] The title, said Mrs. Bloomer, "I never liked... but the society thought it pretty...."[2]

After the second number Mrs. Mattison withdrew, and thereafter Amelia Bloomer carried on alone, determined that no toplofty male should sneer that a woman was a quitter. Although she described herself as "a simple young thing with no experience, no education for business, in no way fitted for such work,"[3] she set up shop in a room adjoining the postoffice, wrote industriously, contracted for printing, read proof, edited, wrapped and mailed copies, and drummed up subscriptions at fifty cents a year. Scraping along with little money, she performed all publishing functions except typesetting and presswork. Her persistence was a superbly courageous rebuttal of the prevailing opinion that, outside the domestic sphere, women should be seen and not heard. Amelia Bloomer was a daring pioneer.

"It is Woman that speaks through the Lily," said the first editorial:

> ... upon an important subject.... Intemperance is the ... foe to her ... happiness.... Surely she has a right to wield the pen for its suppression ... without throwing aside the modest retirement which ... becomes her sex....
>
> ...we shall not be unmindful of ... a healthy and moral Literature.... the Lily will ... strive to please all who delight in productions of the ... fancy—striving to have them ... tempered with a chaste ... sentiment, that shall not offend even the most fastidious....
>
> ...we shall strive to make the Lily the emblem of "sweetness and purity"....[4]

Sermons on the evils of the wine-cup and the rum-seller, together with genteel literature, continued to be standard fare,

[1] Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1, 1849), 1. The "Committee of Ladies" was a fiction. From the start, the publisher was Amelia Bloomer. For the publication history of *The Lily* and the location of extant volumes or partial volumes, see Dr. Vail's account immediately following this article.

[2] D. C. Bloomer, *Life and Writings of Amelia Bloomer* (Boston: Arena Publishing Company, 1895), 49.

[3] Unpublished letter from Amelia Bloomer to Lillian G. Browne, March 21, 1893, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.

[4] *The Lily*, Vol. I, No. 1 (January 1, 1849), 4.

but Mrs. Bloomer soon revised her slogan to the more inclusive "Devoted to the Interests of Woman." "Sweetness and purity" apparently offering little scope, *The Lily* in its second year plunged boldly into the turbulent arena of woman's rights, winning the acclaim and contributions of such combative champions as Lucy Stone, Susan B. Anthony, Frances D. Gage, and Elizabeth Cady Stanton. More virile than its bloodless title, the magazine argued its side of the woman question with lively pungence. By 1853 subscriptions had zoomed to four thousand.

The twentieth century, however, remembers Amelia Bloomer less as a laborer for suffrage than as an earnest advocate of dress reform, which was a spectacular offshoot of the struggle for emancipation. Her name, attached by common consent to the combination of short skirt and loose trousers, sometimes called pettiloons, draping hitherto hidden female legs in the eighteen fifties, is immortalized as a common noun. Hers was a spirited effort to free women from their voluminous and constricting haberdashery: heavy skirts raking the muck of streets, multiple petticoats, bustles, miscellaneous padding, and lung-crushing whalebone—all told, some fifteen pounds.

In late 1849, when Fanny Kemble and other ladies of Lennox, Massachusetts, startled the town by allegedly promenading "equipped in coats, vests, and pantaloons," Mrs. Bloomer cast a favorable eye upon the unconventional costume, saying:

> . . . the . . . "man's clothes" which Mrs. Kemble has been guilty of putting on, is . . . a loose . . . dress falling a little below the knees, and loose pantelletts . . . confined to the ancle [*sic*] by a band. . . . Every change in a lady's dress . . . must be . . . criticised by . . . gentlemen of the press as though it were a subject of serious consideration for such superior beings . . . to take action upon . . . . we maintain that we have the right to control our . . . wardrobe. . . .[5]

Amelia Bloomer did not at the moment follow the Kemble example, but she was converted by Elizabeth Smith Miller, daughter of the ardent abolitionist, Gerrit Smith. Visiting Seneca Falls in the winter of 1850–51, this lady, no mean reformer

[5] "Mrs. Kemble and her New Costume," *The Lily*, Vol I, No. 12 (December 1, 1849), 94.

herself, shocked some and pleased others by wearing "a loose costume with long, full Turkish trousers of black broadcloth, a short skirt and Spanish cloak of the same material, dark furs, and a beaver hat trimmed with feathers."[6]

By February 1851, Amelia Bloomer was enthusiastically praising the new costume, and taking further pot-shots at "our self-constituted lords and guardians":

> . . . now that our cautious editor of the *Courier* recommends it, we suppose there will be little harm in our doing so . . . . ladies, will it not be nice? . . . no . . . dresses drabbled in the mud . . . . In getting . . . out of carriages . . . no fear of the wheels . . . . we can even sit down in a puddle of tobacco-juice without endangering our Sunday suit . . . . we shall be allowed breathing room; and our forms will be what nature made them.[7]

Within another month, feeling "the necessity of putting . . . principles into practice," she had herself donned the so-called Turkish dress, described for correspondents as:

> . . . skirts robbed of about a foot of their former length . . . loose trowsers . . . to the ankle . . . gathered . . . and buttoned . . . or . . . plaited up . . . and left sufficiently wide . . . to . . . allow of their falling over the top of the gaiter . . . . the dress with a sack front . . . tight back . . . skirt gathered in . . . mantilla . . . nice fitting boot or gaiter, and a round hat[8]

"We do not say," she remarked, "we shall wear this dress and no other, but we *shall* wear it for a common dress; and we hope it may become so fashionable that we may wear it at all times . . . without being thought singular."[9] She had immediate support from the more aggressive of the woman's-rights contingent—Lucy Stone, Susan Anthony, Elizabeth Stanton, Sarah Grimke, and Lydia Hasbrouck—who also adopted the new style.

The Boston *Journal* proposed that the outfit be called "The Camilla Costume," after Camilla, the Volscian maiden dedicated to Diana, and as a fleet-footed follower of the chase not im-

[6] Alma Lutz, *Created Equal: a Biography of Elizabeth Cady Stanton* (New York: The John Day Company, 1940), 63; see also Alice Stone Blackwell, *Lucy Stone* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1930), 103.

[7] "Female Attire," *The Lily*, Vol. III, No. 2 (February 1851), 13.

[8] "The New Costume," *The Lily*, Vol. III, No. 5 (May 1851), 38.

[9] "Our Dress," *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 4 (April 1851), 30.

mobilized in a chrysalis of corset and petticoats. This name did not find favor. ". . . rather far-fetching a name to go to Greece for it," observed the Boston *Carpet-Bag*, "and the name of 'Bloomer' is equally musical: Mrs. Bloomer, if not its inventor, has done more than any other to secure its adoption, and we give our voice for the dress retaining the name it first received, by almost universal sanction, the 'Bloomer Costume.'"[10] By late spring the name had been so thoroughly bandied about that it was well fixed in the public mind.

The revolutionary change, sensible if not glamorous, furiously agitated a hidebound society schooled in the sentimentality of woman's unobtrusive rôle as the laced and swaddled adornment of decorous seclusion. Around Amelia Bloomer and her proselytes swirled a tremendous hubbub. Ladies from Maine to California deluged her with hundreds of inquiring letters, and *The Lily* went out to them in far-off places. For months newspapers talked about Bloomerism. Approving, condemning, laughing, raging, sputtering, they worried the subject as feverishly as they discussed abolition, the Fugitive Slave Law, Louis Kossuth, and Jenny Lind. The petticoat suddenly became as momentous as the eternal verities, and its summary shucking was like flouting immutable law. Shortening the skirt by a foot was roughly equivalent to a major earthquake.

Ladies appearing in public in the new costume, even in so presumably sophisticated a city as New York, precipitated flurries of excitement, minor stampedes of boys and young men, rude jeers, nose-thumbing, and occasionally literal mud-slinging. The press throughout the nation reported these cataclysms as statistically as a financial page on the stock market: "It is . . . reported that one of our most beautiful belles, a leader of *ton* . . . will shortly make her appearance on the public *pave* in an elegant Turkish short dress, and breeches"; ". . . butterflies of fashion parading Baltimore streets in short skirts and full satin pants . . . with embroidered bands"; "So anxious were citizens of George-

[10] *The Carpet-Bag*, Vol. I, No. 12 (June 21, 1851), 1.

town . . . to see the . . . display at the Capitol . . . of the Turkish female dress, that the Union Line brought seventeen omnibus loads of ladies and gentlemen . . ."; "Forty ladies made their appearance in the Bloomer costume, at Battle Creek, Mich. . . ."

Elaborate variants of Amelia Bloomer's sober workaday version fascinated reporters, whose dithyrambs rivalled a fashion editor's. In Washington a dazzling young lady perambulated in what was described as:

> trowsers . . . of deep pink satin, covered with white figured lace. . . . frills of white lace fell on white kid boots. . . . tunic . . . to the knees . . . of materials similar to the . . . trowsers. Around the hem . . . a quilling of pink riband. . . . sleeves full and tight at the wrists. Frills partially covered . . . white kidded hands, in the right of which was a . . . beautiful fan. . . . front hair . . . braided and turned back . . . turban of pink silk and white lace. A brilliant ornament . . . clasped . . . two white feathers, tipped with red, which gracefully waved as she walked . . . with a male companion, supposed to be her father.[11]

At a Boston wedding the bride was attired "in the poetry and bloom of a Bloomer costume . . . of elegant white satin . . . fitted like love among the roses, reaching around the waist and close up in the neck, the spencer opening in front like a naval officer's vest, and interlaced *a la* Swiss mountaineer . . . white satin slippers, hair . . . plain with . . . orange blossoms over the brow. . . ."[12] The Brooklyn *Eagle* gurgled over "a young lady, apparently in the bloom of her teens, and beautiful as a bouquet of roses . . . her limbs . . . symmetrical as the chiselled pedestals of Venus, encased in . . . yellow pantaloons, which displayed . . . an ankle on which the closest scrutiny could discover no defect. . . ."[13] Perhaps no other vagary of feminine dress has ever so stimulated the avid attention of journalists, from editor to legman, as the Bloomer.

The noisy chorus of comment rose in a confused medley of cheers and anguished howls. "Every day," moaned the Boston *Post*, "we hear that the 'unutterables,' the very 'unwriteables,'

[11] Washington, D.C., *Republic*, n.d., quoted by Lockport, New York, *Daily Courier*, July 15, 1851.
[12] Lafayette, Indiana, *Daily Courier*, July 17, 1851.
[13] Brooklyn, New York, *Eagle*, June 7, 1851.

and 'unprintables' are fast getting into favor with the women, to the entire abandonment of petticoats!"[14] Gordon Bennett's New York *Herald* huffed and fumed:

> . . . the attempt to introduce pantaloons . . . will not succeed. Those who have tried it, will very likely soon end their career in the lunatic asylum, or, perchance, in the State prison.[15]

> We . . . presume that women who . . . throw off the delicacy of their sex . . . are of no . . . reputable stamp. This dress has been . . . for . . . twenty years . . . worn in disreputable houses as a lure to the imagination. . . .[16]

Horace Greeley's New York *Tribune*, conceding the desirability of a short skirt, turned thumbs down on the pettiloons: "Diminish the skirt . . . and you reduce the fair revolutionist to silence.—No? she . . . claims . . . that the figure . . . in that case will look 'dumpy?' But is . . . any . . . effect half so dumpy as that produced by a pair of Turkish pantaloons? We have never seen a female thus attired without an emotion of aversion."[17] And the New York *Courier and Enquirer* unctuously opined:

> Nothing could sooner break down our respect for woman . . . than the . . . wanton examination of that which . . . regards her personal sanctity. . . . lead her . . . into the broad glare of . . . publicity . . . and the gentle . . . spell she now weaves is broken forever. The sun belongs to man, the shade is woman's. Notoriety is the foul fiend at whose feet she falls and perishes. . . .[18]

Such suffocating complacence, epidemic in mid-century, made thoughtful women resent dogmatic masculine ordination, and the hardy ones delighted to affront convention. Still, the sisterhood, vexed with subservience to fashion and mores, did not rally around with unanimous Bloomer support. Mrs. C. H. Nichols, editor of the Windham *Democrat*, expressed a characteristic blend of secret approval and outward caution when, hoping that ladies would foster "every improvement promising

[14] Boston *Post*, n.d., quoted by Albany, New York, *Argus*, May 20, 1851.
[15] New York *Herald*, May 21, 1851.
[16] *Ibid.*, June 11, 1851.
[17] New York *Tribune*, June 12, 1851.
[18] New York *Courier and Enquirer*, n.d., quoted by *The Lily*, Vol. III, No. 9 (September 1851), 66.

comfort and health," she nevertheless confessed that ". . . we would not cut a single inch from our skirts simply for convenience' sake, while there is the least danger that . . . we might cut away an iota of the influence . . . we have or may win, to carry forward reforms vital to health and . . . morality."[19] Charlotte Cushman, the popular actress, hailed as a Bloomer adherent, issued a disclaimer indignantly asserting that the story grew out of her wearing an india rubber suit in a rainstorm. Mrs. Jane Swisshelm, a strong-minded member of the woman's-rights brigade, was yet squeamish enough to reject the dress as immodest: "We should not subject ourself to the rude gaze of a man on the street, or the insolence of ruffians and boys, for anything less than the salvation of the soul."[20]

Godey's Lady's Book, barometer of the mass female mind, handed down an adverse judgment muffled in mystical words about "differences . . . in the peculiar points, and in the shape and structure of the human form": ". . . prevailing . . . fashions," it said, "are . . . most appropriate for the . . . diversity . . . in . . . female form and stature. . . . they must . . . prevail so long as . . . diversities are thereby equalized, or rendered . . . uniform, to the exclusion of the most formidable innovation that ingenuity . . . may attempt to introduce."[21] Even so staid a journal as *Blackwood's* solemnly spoke its piece, which could not resist a discreet snicker: ". . . the dress . . . is not unbecoming. . . . But it is indecent . . . Because . . . it removes the separation wall . . . between the sexes. Men may break it down, and rudely, but no woman should . . . 'stand in the breech.'"[22]

Among the ribald, criticism degenerated into hilarity, and the puns (—"Let a husband take his Bride full Blooming"; ". . . the

[19] Windham, Connecticut, *Democrat*, n.d., quoted by *The Liberator*, July 11, 1851.

[20] Pittsburg *Saturday Visiter* [*sic*], n.d., quoted by Albany, New York, *Evening Atlas*, May 31, 1851.

[21] "The New, or Proposed New Costume," *Godey's Lady's Book*, Vol. XLIII, No. 3 (September 1851), 189.

[22] "Husbands, Wives, Fathers, Mothers," *Blackwood's Edinburgh Magazine* Vol. LXXI (January 1852), 82.

design proposed by such as would *dare all things*, and boldly rush into the *breech*-es") richocheted interminably. The Boston *Transcript*, reporting an entire Bloomerized family—Mr. and Mrs. Bloomer, Miss Bloomer, and the little Bloomers—humorously varied the usual story by describing Mr. Bloomer:

> . . . black hat, worn jauntily on the left of the perpendicular, light . . . cravat, standing dickey . . . checkered Marseilles vest, frock coatee, skirt very short, Turkish pants, large legs and gathered . . . to a close fit, black gaiter boots, small walking stick, with the top in his mouth. It was acknowledged by all that he was the man, and he was congratulated accordingly.[23]

Punch cartoonists, joyfully deriding outlandish Americans, exaggerated the absurdities of Bloomerism. *Punch* writers invented Bloomer conventions, the Ex-Unprotected Female, and "Theodosia Eudoxia Bang, of Boston, U.S., Principal of the Homeopathic and Collegiate Thompsonian Institute for developing the female mind." One "Thomas Snarlyle" cried:

> A mad world this . . . since . . . rampant . . . Bloomerism . . . came over. . . . Bloomerist . . . affectations . . . I take to be . . . dumb . . .clamorings for the Rights of Women . . . and mutinous female radicalisms grown termagant. . . . But here are we . . . amid . . . hallooings . . . bawlings . . . guffaws . . . imbecile simperings and titterings, blinded by . . . November smokefog of coxcombries and vanities, stunned by hallelujahs of flunkies, beset by . . . simpletons in . . . great lunes and . . . petty lunes; here . . . we, with Bloomerism . . . bubbling uppermost, stand, hopelessly upturning our eyes for the daylight of heaven, upon the brink of a vexed . . . gulf of apehood and asshood simmering forever.[24]

Notwithstanding much merriment and harsh criticism on both sides of the Atlantic, Amelia Bloomer had gallant defenders. Of the "fashionable female costume," the Springfield *Republican* heatedly observed:

> . . . if . . . a man . . . can look upon . . . this leg-tangling, back-heating, hip-depressing, chest-compressing, arm-imprisoning, breath-stopping, disease-inducing aparatus [*sic*] known by the name of a woman's dress, and

[23] Boston *Transcript*, June 13, 1851.

[24] "A Latter-Day Fragment. By Thomas Snarlyle," *Punch*, Vol. 21 (November 15, 1851), 217.

not cry "down with the miserable humbug," he is a very small pattern of a man.[25]

The New Haven *Palladium* hoped that the new style would "lengthen the lives of the fairer sex, by dispensing with . . . wet skirts around delicate feet, and increase the happiness of young bachelors, by affording an occasional glimpse of a pretty ancle [*sic*] or handsomely arched instep."[26] The Auburn *Advertiser*, admiring a Bloomer girl, remarked that she appeared "more like a celestial being than one confined to earth. The lady seemed ready for any emergency . . . ."[27] The Boston *Carpet-Bag*, one of Mrs. Bloomer's most loyal supporters, and the first to print pictures of the new costume, reproved fellow journalists for their levity:

> We are sorry to perceive a disposition . . . to ridicule the change. . . . A reform . . . is much needed, and we do not perceive anything in the . . . change to excite the risibles of our amiable contemporaries. They must covet petticoat government . . . who wish that ancient authority to maintain its supremacy. . . . We commend the ladies who have become pioneers in the movement, and wish them success in what they have so courageously undertaken.[28]

So the battle raged during the summer and fall of 1851, enlivened by subsidiary fights. A Reverend Mr. Stone of Easthampton, Massachusetts, acquired a brief notoriety by forbidding two Bloomer girls to enter his church, and threatening them with excommunication. Whereupon gentlemen of the press momentarily ceased feuding with each other and with Mrs. Bloomer, the while they unanimously denounced Mr. Stone for his unwarranted assumption of tyrannical authority, Gordon Bennett's *Herald* assailing him as roughly as it had condemned Bloomerism.

Amelia Bloomer, taken aback by the onset of an unexpected

[25] Springfield, Massachusetts, *Republican*, n.d., quoted by Lockport, New York, *Daily Courier*, June 13, 1851.

[26] New Haven, Connecticut, *Palladium*, n.d., quoted by Albany, New York, *Evening Atlas*, May 28, 1851.

[27] Auburn, New York, *Advertiser*, n.d., quoted by Plattsburgh, New York, *Republican*, May 17, 1851.

[28] "For the Amusement of the Reader," *The Carpet-Bag*, Vol. I, No. 8 (May 24, 1851), 1.

furore, quickly recovered her poise and rode out the storm with magnificent aplomb. She stuck to her principles and to her Bloomer dress, printed in *The Lily* a box score of opinion pro and anti, ranging from metropolitan dailies' to the *Water Cure Journal's*, and retorted with sense and vigor. "We have at present," said she after over a year of bouquets and buffets, "no idea of giving up the short dress—fashion or no fashion."[29] When a famous divine, Dr. DeWitt Talmage, invoked the authority of Moses against Bloomerism, she polished him off by citing the more ancient authority of Genesis, which specified no difference between the fig-leaves of Adam and Eve. Besides, if Moses were accepted as law-giver to the nineteenth century, then a hundred other customs and ordinances were being violated by men, including the eminent Dr. Talmage. No sensible woman, she concluded, should "sit under" such absurd preaching.

Annoyed by the nice-nellyism of her own sex, she observed with forthright modernity: "There is a mock modesty among women which we cannot sympathize with or tolerate."[30] The cantankerous Swisshelm, characterized by Amelia as "a very queer woman . . . forever saying something we wish unsaid," rated her reproof in a similar vein: "Women of intellect should . . . raise woman to . . . the dignity of self reliance and a noble independence, and not encourage her weaknesses by talking to her about her 'delicacy,' 'helplessness,' and 'physical disabilities.'"[31]

A valiant fighter was Amelia Bloomer, feminine as a figurine, yet never asking quarter because of delicacy, helplessness, or physical disability. "We know . . . ," she said, " that many frown upon us for daring to be different from the mass; but having experienced the blessings of freedom, we cannot rivet the chains upon ourself again, even to gain the good will, or to avoid the frowns of slavish conservatives."[32]

Despite her efforts, however, the Bloomer never became

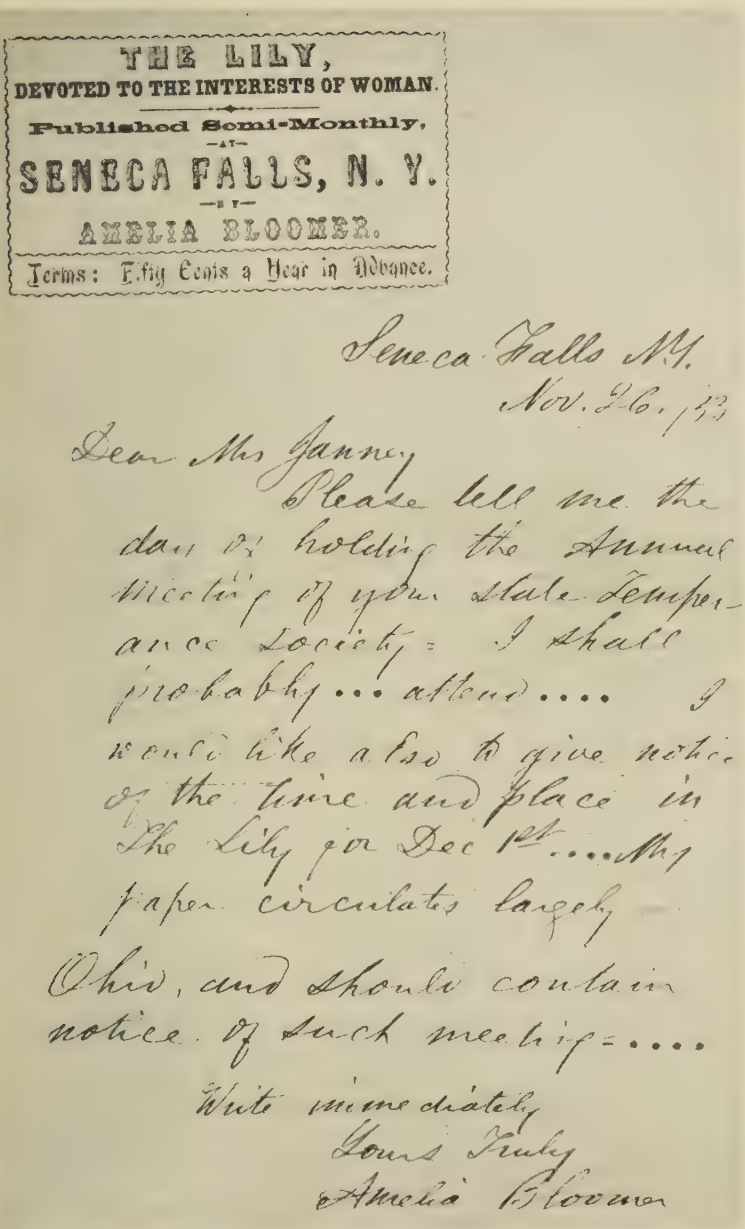
[29] *The Lily*, Vol. IV, No. 6 (June 1852), 54.
[30] "Our Dress," *ibid.*, Vol. III, No. 5 (May 1851), 38.
[31] *Ibid*, Vol. III, No. 7 (July 1851), 51.
[32] "Our Fashion Plate," *ibid*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (January 1852), 1.

popular, perhaps because, as editors shrewdly surmised, the design did not originate in Paris, and was not taken up by leaders of fashion in New York and Boston. As one paper remarked: "The sex have treated the subject as they do their shopping,—ransacked it,—turned it over,—talked of it,—dwelt upon its beauties, and—left it."[33] Converts were so sporadic that no concerted movement toward the new style animated women, who by and large clung to their street-sweeping skirts, petticoats, and formidable stays. By midwinter of 1852 the excitement had subsided, and interest in the subject had, like the weather, cooled off.

Yet the experiment, not entirely a failure, did result in at least one permanently Bloomerized woman, Lydia Sayer Hasbrouck. Among the first to wear the costume, she later edited the *Sybil*, "A Review of the Tastes, Errors, and Fashions of Society," agitated for dress reform, and wore the Bloomer until her death in 1910. The commotion in 1851 also left an aftermath of memories. Fifteen years later, the New York *Times*, reporting an equal-rights convention, recalled Bloomerism: "... no woman was in attendance wearing the bloomer or 'short' dress.... Mrs. Stanton has abandoned it, and Mrs. Bloomer has adopted the garments of Paris and London."[34]

Amelia, who wore the short skirt and trousers for about eight years, retreated gracefully. Mistakenly assuming that good sense is more potent than senseless custom, and meeting the defeat often suffered by those who step out too far ahead of the crowd, she was not embittered as she carried on the battle for temperance and suffrage. Modern women, more free than she ever dreamed of being—and all others who believe in Emersonian non-conformity—owe her a debt of gratitude for assaulting the rock-bound front of sentimentality and tradition. Of her adventures with *The Lily* and with Bloomerism, she said: "I had a great struggle, but did the best I could."[35] She did, indeed, and her best merits tribute.

[33] Albany, New York, *Evening Atlas*, June 21, 1851.
[34] New York *Times*, November 22, 1866.
[35] Unpublished letter from Amelia Bloomer to Lillian G. Browne, March 21, 1893, New York State Library, Albany, N. Y.



THE LILY,
DEVOTED TO THE INTERESTS OF WOMAN.
Published Semi-Monthly,
—AT—
SENECA FALLS, N. Y.
—BY—
AMELIA BLOOMER.
Terms: Fifty Cents a Year in Advance.

Seneca Falls N.Y.
Nov. 26, 53

Dear Mrs Janney

Please tell me the day of holding the Annual meeting of your State Temperance Society - I shall probably ... attend .... I would like also to give notice of the time and place in The Lily for Dec 1st .... My paper circulates largely in Ohio, and should contain notice of such meeting - ....

Write immediately

Yours Truly
Amelia Bloomer

AMELIA BLOOMER TO MRS. R.A.S. JANNEY, OHIO WOMEN'S RIGHTS LEADER

(The dots indicate original passages deleted in the reproduction)

ALS at The New-York Historical Society

WOODCUT PORTRAIT OF AMELIA BLOOMER FROM "THE LILY" SEPT. 9, 1851

The Bella C. Landauer Collection, NYHS

THE LILY

THE LILY (the editor disliked the name which was given her paper by its sentimental women backers) was founded by Mrs. Amelia (Jenks) Bloomer (Mrs. Dexter C. Bloomer) at Seneca Falls, N. Y., January 1, 1849. The first four volumes were published monthly as a quarto of eight pages measuring 30.5 x 22 cm. Volume 5 (1853) was issued as a semi-monthly of 4 pages, folio, measuring 34 x 24 cm. Volume 6 (1854) was published at Mt. Vernon, Ohio, where the Bloomers had moved from Seneca Falls. It was a semi-monthly of 8 pages, quarto, measuring 30.5 x 22 cm. Mr. and Mrs. Bloomer moved to Council Bluffs, Iowa, in the spring of 1855 and she remained a Corresponding Editor during that year though she had sold the paper to Mrs. Mary A. Birdsall of Richmond, Indiana, who published it in 1855 and 1856, the last issue (Vol. 8, no. 24) being dated December 15, 1856.

Mrs. Bloomer's own files of Volumes 1–6 of *The Lily*, all badly damaged by the New York Capitol fire of 1911 and not available for public use, are in the New York State Library at Albany. They contain valuable historical notes in her handwriting, giving the history of the paper and author-identification of many of the articles which were issued anonymously. The Library of Congress has a nearly complete file of Volumes 1–3. The Boston Public Library has Volumes 4, 6, 7, and 8. The New York Public Library has Volume 5, Nos. 1, 5, 6, 14 and Volume 6, No. 23. The Henry E. Huntington Library has Volume 5, No. 6. The American Antiquarian Society has Volume 7, No. 15. The Grosvenor Library, Buffalo, N.Y., has a partial file of Volumes 4 and 5. Western Reserve Historical Society at Cleveland, Ohio, has partial files of Volumes 6 and 7 and Western Reserve University has Volumes 7 and 8. Eight odd issues are in the Susan B. Anthony Home in Rochester, N.Y. The New-York Historical Society has in preparation a photographic copy of all obtainable issues, to be available later in the year.

R.W.G.V.

BROADWAY, LOOKING SOUTH FROM THE ASTOR HOUSE [AT RIGHT], 1850

Watercolor drawing by Augustus Köllner, 1850

The New-York Historical Society

KNICKERBOCKER HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS 1800–1850

by MERYLE R. EVANS, *Supervisor of Public Relations*

The Broadway Hotels are the best in the States
For comfort, attention and moderate rates;
There's the "City," "American," "Congress Hall,"
The "Franklin," "Atlantic," and "Washington Hall."
Then there's John Jacob Astor's magnificent pile
Erecting its head in very grand style.
As you pass every day it seems to say
Of hotels I'll be "President" in Broadway.

From a song sung at Niblo's Garden in 1835

NEW YORK during the first half of the nineteenth century blossomed into a busy, thriving metropolis. Even the disapproving Mrs. Trollope wrote that New York was one of the finest cities she had seen. "Situated on an island which I think it will one day cover," she declared, "it rises like Venice from the sea." But in 1830, the time of Frances Trollope's visit to the city, only one sixth of Manhattan was compactly covered with houses, stores, and paved streets; the rest was occupied by farms and gardens. Small in area, New York was, nevertheless, the foremost city in the United States by the middle of the nineteenth century. Its growth in wealth and importance resulted from the advantage of direct communication with the outside world and the rest of the States. Into the crowded harbor streamed a steady flow of imported goods; New York was a point of convergence where foreigners landed and merchants congregated. It was also a point of dissemination—to the West by stage, on the canal, and after 1848 on the Erie Railroad. "A Strangers List," published in 1835, named all transients at the city's hotels for a period of 207 days. During this time, when the city's resident population hovered around 270,000,* 59,700

*Pop. was 312,000 in 1840, 515,000 in 1850.

visitors, about 270 a day, had come to New York for an average stay of three days. With its constant influx and outpouring New York needed rooms and restaurants for its visitors, and while the prosperous citizens built their importing firms and banking houses, they did not neglect to erect hostelries that were unsurpassed in America or Europe.

COMFORT, ATTENTION, AND MODERATE RATES

The modern hotel in the first decades of the nineteenth century had just begun to evolve from the inn or tavern of Colonial times, and while mine host no longer welcomed the visitor at the door and waved him to a room already filled with sleeping travellers, guests could still complain about poor lodgings. But as hotels began to increase in number and in size (New York Guides list eight hotels in 1818, twenty eight in 1836, and 108 a decade later) the landlord outdid himself, and his competitor, in the lavish use of marble, mirrors, and luxurious "fittings."

New Yorkers as well as transients enjoyed the free-for-all elegance of the new hotels. Many preferred hotel or boarding-house life to housekeeping, and foreigners invariably commented on the American habit of "going a boarding." Visitors to the United States were also impressed, and somewhat disconcerted, at the lack of privacy in our hotels. Henry Lanier, an English traveller could not admire "the bustle or noise or smoking segars and drinking spirits and water in the bar room." George Combe, the Scottish phrenologist, noted that the ladies had their own not-too-private salon: ". . . the fair sex gossip, flirt, or 'rock' in a handsome apartment named the Ladies Parlour. It generally contains a piano-forte and they may be seen playing, and heard singing with the same self-possession amidst hoards of visitors as if they were in their own sanctuaries at home. Custom renders this mode of life agreeable to them." When Thomas Grattan peeked into the Ladies Drawing Room, he saw what he thought to be

two feeble-minded creatures constantly swaying back and forth in rhythmic motion. Unacquainted with the American rocking chair, he did not realize that the two "feeble minded" women were quite normal individuals having a tête-à-tête in their rockers!

Still pondering the strange conduct of the ladies, Grattan went upstairs for a nap, but "was aroused by what I thought the most extraordinary clap of thunder I had ever heard." But it was only "the awful gong," as Dickens called it, "which shakes the very window frames as it reverberates through the house and horribly disturbs nervous foreigners." The gong summoned hotel guests to breakfast, dinner, and supper in the large dining room or ordinary. Steel-engraved cards placed in rooms at the Astor House in 1840 announced breakfast at 7:30 in the Ladies Ordinary, and 8:00 in the men's; dinner at 3:00 in the Ladies Ordinary, and half an hour later in the men's. Tea was served from six to nine, and supper nine to midnight. But at a fine hotel like the Astor meals would be served at any hour of the day without extra cost on special request.

"The Englishman," wrote Thomas Nichols in *Forty Years of American Life*, "likes to eat and drink in private. The American prefers a large, gay dining room and the presence of many guests. What has he to be ashamed of? He wants to see and be seen. He suns himself in the public gaze. He enjoys society, and enters into the life around him. . . . The larger the hotel, the more people eating and drinking around him, the greater his enjoyment." Robert Burford in *A Description of a View of the City of New York* (1834) remarked on the American habit of eating in a hurry: ". . . the hotels are numerous, large, and convenient, but are conducted on quite a different system to those in the 'old country.' . . . The meals are taken in the public room where fifty to one hundred persons sit down at the same time . . . a vast number of dishes cover the table, and the dispatch with which they are cleaned is almost incredible; from five to ten minutes for breakfast, fifteen to twenty minutes for dinner, and ten for

supper are fully sufficient; each person as soon as satisfied leaves the table without regard to his neighbors; no social conversation follows."

The majority of New York hotels during the first half of the nineteenth century were conducted on the "American Plan." The daily tariff, ranging from $1.25 at the Merchant's Hotel to $2 at the Astor House in 1846, entitled the guest to a room and all the food he could consume. Breakfasts of orange juice, toast, and coffee were unheard of. Instead one sat down to a table piled high with all sorts of bread, rolls, and biscuits, griddle cakes made of buckwheat, rice, or Indian corn, ham and eggs, sausages, fish, chicken, beefsteak, pork, oysters, and coffee, tea, or chocolate. Americans ate an extraordinary amount of meat (and of everything else!) in those days. Fish too, made up a good portion of the diet, with oysters and turtle leading the list. An Astor House menu for October 11, 1849, at The New-York Historical Society, indicates the amazing amount of game served there: Black Duck, Lake Ducks, Meadow Hens, Short Neck Snipe, Doe Witches, Cedar Birds, Grouse, Plover, Rail Birds, Mallard Ducks, Robin Snipe, Surf Snipe, and Venison with current jelly. Side dishes included oysters baked in shell, frogs fried in butter, barbecued broiled pigs feet, rice cakes flavored with orange, onions, eggplant, and raw tomatoes. A good bottle of Madeira was the usual accompaniment. The elaborate deserts included ice cream served in forms, Charlotte Russe, cranberry pie, and almond cakes.

A few small places such as Tammany Hall were operated on the "European Plan" for the accommodation of foreign visitors, but the first large hotel to go European was the New York which opened in 1844. The proprietor, Monnot, caused a stir when he announced that the hotel would specialize in private dining (room service) with à la carte meals cooked to order to replace the usual table d'hôte. Nat P. Willis, poet and journalist, objected to this room service on the ground that it was directly opposed to the American ideals of democracy: "There are some republican advantages in our present system of hotels which the country is

Astor House.

New York, Thursday, October 11, 1849

Bill of Fare.

SOUP.

Vegetable Soup.

FISH.

Bass Genoise sauce

ROAST.

Beef.
Turkeys.
Chickens.
Ham, Champagne sauce.

BOILED.

Isle and Cabbage
Corned Beef
Beef Tongues.
Sheffield Ham.

GAME—ROAST.

Venison, Currant Jelly sauce

Black Ducks.
Lake Ducks.
Teal.
Widgeons,
Grouse
Plover,
Rail Birds,
Mallard Ducks,
Wood Ducks.
Bread Bills.
Gray Ducks,
Meadow Hens.
Short Neck Snipe,
Doe-Witches

GAME—BROILED.

English Snipe.
Cedar Birds,
Robin Snipe,
Surf Snipe

SIDE DISHES

Oysters Baked in the Shell,
Calf's Head, Brain sauce,
Curried Veal with Rice,
Frog- Fried in Butter,
Black Fish. Barbecued,
Broiled Pig's Feet.
Small Birds. Madeira sauce.
Macaroni with Cheese.
Stuffed Tomatoes, Baked,
Calf's Liver. Fried with Pork,
Rice Cakes flavored with Orange.
Sausages with Mashed Potatoes.

VEGETABLES.

Onions,
Boiled Potatoes,
Mashed Potatoes.
Pickled Beets.
Egg Plant,
Lima Beans,
Squash,
Boiled Rice.
Cabbage.
Sweet Potatoes.
Raw Tomatoes
Stewed Tomatoes.
Spinach,
Corn,

PASTRY.

Pumpkin Pies,
Rice Pudding,
Charlotte Russe.
Cranberry Pies.
Bread Pudding,
Almond Cakes.

DESSERT

Ice Cream.

WINE LIST

WINDELLE

Saltzers Water ..... per bottle. 50 75
Windelle [illegible] 1 00

SAUTERNE.

Sauterne Flints 2 00
Sauterne 1 00
Sauterne Medoc 1 00

HOCK

Hints Sparkling Hock 2 5
Rudesheimer 1834, pt. 2 00
[illegible] 1 00
Sparkling Hock, A. T. Brigham 2 00
[illegible] 1811 ..... 2 00
do 1832 ..... 2 00
[illegible] 2 00
Johannisberger, 1834 ..... 3 00
Steinberg Cabinet, Rochesberg, 1822 ..... 4 00
Johannisberger, 1822 ..... 3 00
Prince Metternich Castle bottled, 1st [illegible] new seal, 1831, ... 3 00
Metternich Castle, bottled Red Seal, 1822 ..... 3 00
Prince Metternich's cabinet Castle bottled, Gold Seal Johannisberger vintage 1822 ..... 5 00

CHAMPAGNE

Brigham's Grape Leaf 2 50
Bensinger's Hussars 2 00
Sparkling Burgundy 2 00
Sparkling Moselle 1 50
Schreider 2 00
Napoleon, Barsalou 2 00
Mont 2 50
Liquot 2 00
Heidseck 2 00
Heidsieck 2 00
Mumm 2 00
Dickey, Bloodgood's superior 2 00
Pints 1 00
Mont Pope 1 25

CLARET

Irish Claret, very superior 62 00
Claret 3 00
Table Claret 0 75
St Julien in pint bottles V B 0 75
Leoville do 50 75
Lestitte do 50 75
Chalet Cabert 50 50 75
Latour do do 100
Chateau Margalaux 100
St Julien, Medoc & Superior, pint bot 0 75
St Julien, do do 50
Leoville do 50 75
Chalet Cabert 50 50 75
St Julien, Medoc & Superior, pint bot 0 75
St Julien, do do 50
Leoville do 1841 ..... 1 00
Lestitte 50 1841 ..... 1 00
Chalet Cabert 50 1841 ..... 1 00
Latour do 1841 100
Chateau Lafitte do 1841 100
Chateau Margaux, do 1841 100

SHERRY

[illegible] 2 00
Pinella White [illegible] 1 00
Sparkling Burgundy 1 00
[illegible] 1 00
[illegible] 1 00
Hermitage 1 00
Vosne 1 00

PORT

Particular 2 00
Tawny 2 00
Brandy 3 00

WINE LIST.

SHERRY

Sherry, E. D. Rutherford, Drury & Co.... 1 5
Sherry pale, delicate 2 5
Sherry Gold Q 2 00
Sherry, Sayres, gold 2 50
Do do. Brown, extra 2 50
Do do. Amos [illegible] 3 0
Amontillo Sherry, imported [illegible] gold 3 0

T. T. Brigham's Imperial Pale, very delicate 3 00
Harmony 3 00
Imperial, pale 4 00
Brown imported in glass 4 00
Amontillo do very old 3 00
Amontillo pale very old 3 00
Sherry Brown & Co long bottled 3 00
Sherry Pint Dry 4 00

MADEIRA

Madeira Oliveira 1 00
Symington's Reserve Madeira, (very fine old) 2 50
Symington's Tinta or Burgundy Madeira (rich and delicate) 3 00
Symington's Boal (fruity, delicate, and high flavored) 2 50
Symington's Pure Juice, fruity and very delicate 3 00
Symington's Verdelho, very high flavored 2 00
Old Madeira 1 00
[illegible], South Side 1 00
Cruttenden's old Madeira, Eagle Tavern stock (Albany) 3 00
Cockburn's Reserve, do 3 50
Howard, Nesbitt & Co's Madeira imported for the Astor House, P 2 00
Newton, Scurrion & Murdock's old W 2 00
Oliveira's Reserve, 17 years old 2 50
C. I. Leacock old, dry 3 00
Smith Side Madeira, delicious and very fine 4 00
Leacock & Co imported, 1820, 1840 New Orleans 4 00
Henry Clay, imported in Boston in 1820 ..... 4 00
Peabody Neville & Woodrope, M Y 3 00
Rose Seal original N O M, delicate 4 00
Mercantile very delicate 4 00
Brazil, V I very old Amarante wine 3 00
Brown Seal, old Monterras, superior 3 00
Nabob 3 50
Red Seal old, bottled, East India 3 00
Eclipse Madeira 4 00
Rapid imported 1815 ..... 4 00
Green Seal, Virginia Madeira, light & very delicate 4 00
White Top, very old and delicate 4 00
Thornhike, very old and superior 4 00
Edward Tuckerman esquire, Scott, Laughnan Penfold & Co's, import ed 1820, P M 5
Gratz yellow seal 1808 ..... 5 00
Do. green seal 1808 ..... 5 50
Do. black seal, 1808 ..... 6 00
Gratz, red seal, bottled 1808 ..... 6 00
Wanton, exceedingly delicate, 30 years in wood, W 6 00
John A. Gordon's Madeira, imported into Philadelphia 1820 ..... 6 00
Caroline, an old family wine 6 00
Gordon, Duff, Inglis & Co's, imported by H G Otis, and Edward Tucker man, Esq., 1811 ..... 6 00
Stark's Madeira, bottled in Calcutta imported 1825 ..... 6 00
Hurd's Madeira, bottled 1821, Calcutta 6 00
Estey, Jr. imported 1814 ..... 7 00
Smith & Huggins, Upkar's White Top, bottled in Europe in St. Eustatia, Tuckerman & Co 1810 ..... 7 00
Thornhike's & Co 1810 ..... 8 00
Wedding Wine 6 00
Gov Philip's Wine 8 00
Gov Rich's original bottle 1800 ..... 12 00

EACH WAITER IS PROVIDED WITH WINE CARDS AND PENCIL

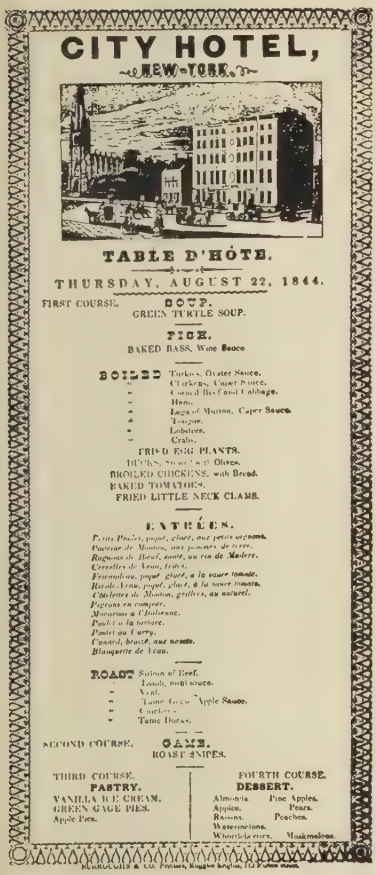
The New-York Historical Society Collections

not yet ready to forego. Tell a country lady in these times that when she comes to New York she must eat and pass the evening in a room by herself and she would rather stay at home. The going to the Astor and dining with two hundred well dressed people and sitting in full dress in a splendid drawing room with plenty of company is the charm of going to the city." "What good are hotels," queried Willis, if folks "tolerably well dressed and well behaved could not rub elbows and pick their teeth at a public table?"

Although the New York Hotel received its fair share of business, most of the city's hostelries adhered to the American Plan until after the Civil War. Americans felt that no man was privileged to eat apart from his fellows. Mr. Nichols wrote that the feeling of equality was evidenced even by managers: "American hotel keepers consider themselves equal to Senators and take pride in entertaining their guests. They sit at the head of the table and invite the President, the governor of a state or a distinguished foreigner to take wine with them . . . and have the manners of a gentleman of fortune dispensing the hospitalities of his mansion rather than of a head waiter."

NEW YORK'S FIRST HOTEL

The first establishment in New York to be properly called a hotel was the City Hotel. Constructed in 1793, it occupied the entire front of the block on Broadway flanked by Thames and Cedar Streets. It was a plain, unpretentious five-story building containing 137 rooms. Inside, too, the ruling motive was substantial comfort rather than extravagance. Furniture was the best, but unostentatious, and the dining room was spacious, light, and well ventilated. The keeness and alertness of its proprietors greatly contributed to building a reputation for the City Hotel. In 1811, Solomon D. Gibson, the manager, announced that "the ordinary of the hotel is always supplied with every variety and delicacy which the seasons will permit, while the bar can boast of an ample stock of superior wines calculated to tempt the taste



CITY HOTEL,

NEW-YORK.

TABLE D'HÔTE.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 22, 1844.

FIRST COURSE. SOUP.
GREEN TURTLE SOUP.

FISH.
BAKED BASS, Wine Sauce

BOILED Turkey, Oyster Sauce.
" Chickens, Caper Sauce.
" Corned Beef and Cabbage.
" Ham.
" Leg of Mutton, Caper Sauce.
" Tongue.
" Lobsters.
" Crabs.

FRIED EGG PLANTS.
HOMINY, Stewed and Olives.
BROILED CHICKENS, with Bread.
BAKED TOMATOES.
FRIED LITTLE NECK CLAMS.

ENTRÉES.

Petits Poulets, poupt, glacé, aux petits oignons.
Cotelettes de Mouton, aux pommes de terre.
Rognons de Bœuf, sauté, au vin de Madere.
Cervelles de Veau, frites.
Fricandeau, poupt, glacé, a la sauce tomate.
Ris de Veau, poupt, glacé, à la sauce tomate.
Côtelettes de Mouton, grillées, au naturel.
Pigeons en compote.
Macarons à l'Italienne.
Poulet a la tartare.
Poulet au Curry.
Canard, braisé, aux navets.
Blanquette de Veau.

ROAST Sirloin of Beef.
" Lamb, mint sauce.
" Veal.
" Turkey Green Apple Sauce.
" Chickens.
" Tame Ducks.

SECOND COURSE. GAME.
ROAST SNIPES.

THIRD COURSE. PASTRY.
VANILLA CUSTARD.
GREEN GAGE PIES.
Apple Pies.

FOURTH COURSE. DESSERT.
Almonds. Pine Apples.
Apples. Pears.
Raisins. Peaches.
Watermelons.
Whortleberries. Muskmelons.

The New-York Historical Society Collections

of the epicure. A new and elegant bar-room and coffee room, fronting on Broadway, have lately been added; which unrivaled in point of pure air and salubrity, and commanding a delightful view of a street embellished with all the fascinations of beauty and by all the other graces of fashion, present irresistible attractions to gentlemen of taste." Chester Jennings, following Mr. Gibson as proprietor, was careful to see that the hotel was kept in good order. Apparently he did not succeed in the eyes of Lieutenant Fred Fitzgerald de Roos of the Royal Navy who visited New York in 1826: "We lodged at the City Hotel which is the principal inn. . . . The house was immense and full of people, but what a wretched place! Floors without carpets, beds without curtains, neither glass, mug, nor cup, and a miserable little rag was dignified with the name of a towel. The entrance to the hotel is constantly obstructed by the crowds of people passing to and from the bar-room where a person presides at a buffet formed upon the plan of a cage. This individual prepares punch and spirits all day to strange looking men who come to the house to read newspapers and talk politics."

I. N. Hubbard, reminiscing over the City Hotel, tells how it brings back memories of balls and musical entertainments by the Philharmonic Society and the Euterpean Society, and Mr. Char-

raud who had his dancing school in the ball room. The hotel became a general rendezvous for the meeting of friends on their return from business to their homes, and was a favorable haunt of Irving, and of Cooper who organized the Bread and Cheese Club there.

Phillip Hone notes in his diary on April 25, 1833, that a fire broke out in the garret of the City Hotel and destroyed the top floor of the spacious building. "Public sympathy is strongly incited for the establishment has been a credit to the city, and Jennings . . . has become a great favorite with our citizens." Despite the fire, the City Hotel continued as an ever-popular establishment until it was torn down in 1847.

OTHER EARLY HOTELS

Washington Hall, chief rival of the City Hotel and headquarters for the Federalists in New York, was built in 1809 at a cost of $140,000 by the Washington Union Benevolent Society. Theodore Fay, in *Views of New York*, 1831, describes the hotel as follows: "It is an extensive edifice, built of brick in the plain Doric style, and situated on the corner of Broadway and Reade Street. In the year 1827 it was entirely altered and repaired, with the addition of several new parlors, and newly furnished in a style equal to any in this country." A large group of influential merchants met regularly at Washington Hall for gambling. Unfortunately, one professional card shark found his way into the group and soon displayed his "cloven foot" by putting a few cards up his coatsleeve. Eventually the news leaked out, causing great excitement and casting a shadow on the reputation of Washington Hall. The hotel was destroyed by fire on July 4, 1844.

Tammany Hall, at Nassau and Frankfort Streets, was "more generally known as the headquarters of the Republican Party, and the arena of frequent political strife." Its cornerstone was laid in 1811 while the members of the Society in aboriginal costume paraded about Indian-fashion. Besides being used as the

WASHINGTON HOTEL, BROADWAY AND READE ST., 1831

Watercolor drawing by Charles Burton, 1831

The New-York Historical Society

great wigwam of the Tammanyites, the Hall was conducted by W. B. Cozzens as a hotel. Tammany had many permanent boarders, "some of them wealthy merchants who sit every day at the public table."

The North American, built about 1826 at the corner of Bayard Street and the Bowery, became the meeting place for the Native Americans and the Know-Nothings. It was also a favorite stopping place for the performers from an indoor circus across the way. The front of the hotel was surmounted by a statue of a ragged boy, gaudily painted, and supposed to represent its proprietor, David Reynolds.

Dydes, next door to the Park theater, catered to the after-theater supper crowd. The Macbeth playbill at the Park contained the announcement that there could be obtained "an excellent supper at Dyde's Hotel between the play and the farce at

fifty cents each; the same every night at half past nine o'clock."

Niblo's Bank Coffee House in Pine Street at the corner of William was described in the *Picture of New York* for 1828 as "a famous house for good living, resorted to by strangers and country merchants, more than by private families. Its vicinity to the Exchange, banks, and public offices, renders it very convenient for men of business." The Pearl Street House, at 88 Pearl, opened about 1810 and was also a commercial-type hotel, "not being intended for the accommodation of families or ladies." It was the resort of merchants from every part of the Union, especially from western New York and Ohio. The hotel was demolished in the fire of 1835, but reopened in 1836, a six-story building with 200 rooms. Now known as the Hartford House, the building stands today under the shadow of the "El."

Other New York Hotels built before the fire of 1835 included the Eagle, opened in 1822 and later known as the Eastern until its demolition in 1920, the National Hotel at 112 Broadway, constructed in 1826, and Bunker's Mansion House at 39 Broadway, "usually filled with the best company." The six-story Adelphi Hotel, a brick building at the corner of Beaver Street and Broadway, was looked upon with wonder as New York's first skyscraper when built in 1827. Webb's Congress Hall, opened in 1831 on the east side of Broadway between Cedar and Liberty Streets, was managed by Charles H. Webb, host of the Mountain House in the Catskills, "too long and extensively known as one of the most gentlemanly, and capable persons of his calling in this country to need any compliments from us," said one of the daily papers.

HOLT'S FOLLY

Stephen Holt came to New York from Salem in 1808, and after several years as an enterprising restaurateur ventured to build a hotel so large that it was variously called "one of the wonders of the new world" and "Holt's Folly." The six-story white-marble building was located on the corner of Fulton and

Pearl Streets. It fronted 100 feet on Fulton Street, 76 feet on Pearl Street, and 85 feet on Water Street. There was a dining room one hundred feet long, able to accommodate a thousand people for dinner at one time, and a total of 225 rooms provided lodgings for the night. Mrs. Mary Holt sewed all the bed clothes, stitching 1,500 towels, 400 pairs of sheets, 400 pillowcases "all ruffled and pointed," and 350 patchwork bed quilts "composed of pieces no larger than a two shilling bit," reported the *Journal of Commerce* on January 4, 1833.

In the basement was an artesian well, and probably the first steam engine used in a hotel to facilitate labor. Passenger elevators had not been thought of, but baggage was carried upstairs by steam power, and it was also used for turning spits, grinding, and cleaning knives. The main purpose of the engine, however, was digging the artesian well.

Holt's Hotel was one of the first flat-topped buildings in the city. There was an extensive promenade on the roof, and on the cupola Holt put a semaphore, the Marine Telegraph. By the varying positions of its arms it announced the arrival of all vessels in the bay. The semaphore was for the benefit of the captains of Nantucket, New Bedford, Sag Harbor, and New London whaling ships who liked to run down to New York between their long hunting trips to the Pacific.

But despite Holt's popularity, its proprietor could not make up the high cost of building the hotel, and it was sold at auction in 1835. The building was later renamed the United States Hotel, and in 1849, under the management of H. Johnson, a complete renovation included the construction "at great expense" of "an extensive range of Water Closets, not equalled by any other similar establishment in the United States."

JOHN JACOB ASTOR'S MAGNIFICENT PILE

When John Jacob Astor resolved to build a hotel he kept the idea secret and purchased lot after lot on the block where his

house stood on the corner of Barclay Street and Broadway. At last only Mr. Costar's property remained to be purchased; Costar at first refused to sell, but by paying much more than the property was worth Astor at last owned the whole block. In 1834, Isaiah Rogers, architect of the Tremont Hotel in Boston, came to New York to superintend the building of the Astor House, and the project soon got under way. On May 1st, 1834, Hone noted in his diary: "Mr. Astor commenced this morning the demolition of the valuable buildings on the block fronting Broadway from Barclay to Vesey Street on which his great hotel will be erected. The dust and rubble will be almost intolerable. . . ." And on July 4th of that year a newspaper account of the "Fifty Eighth Anniversary of the Independence of the United States," listing the observances of the day, noted that "at 6 o'clock (A.M.) the cornerstone of the magnificent hotel about to be erected by John Jacob Astor was laid." The building progressed rapidly; The *Evening Post* reported on November 20th: "Astor Hotel—the exterior is nearly completed and the appearance far surpasses expectation; for size and solidity no building in the United States will compare with it. The upper part, not including the stores, is rented for $20,000 per annum. Mr. Astor is to furnish it [for $80,000]. . . . There are 18 stores in the basement which will rent for at least $15,000. . . ." Hone rightly, though extravagantly, predicted its success: ". . . the establishment will be a great public advantage, and the edifice an ornament to the city, and for centuries to come will serve, as it was probably intended, as a monument of its wealthy proprietor."

The Astor House when completed was an enormous pile of Quincy granite, six stories high, encircling a court yard laid out as a garden. The court was later closed in to make the famous Astor Rotunda lunch room. The main entrance at the center of the Broadway front was flanked by Doric columns and opened into a large vestibule, the floor of which was laid with mosaic squares of alternating blue and white marble; the same kind of flooring was used in the corridor of the office floor of the hotel. Upper windows faced the interior of the quadrangle where a

garden was laid out, or overlooked the street and the flower beds along the sides next to the building.

The public rooms, said the *New Yorker* on June 4, 1836, were "all fitted up and furnished in a style of unostentatious richness and severe simplicity; the sofas, bureaus, tables, and chairs, from basement to attic being uniformly of a beautiful black walnut." And the hotel boasted a new type steam engine that could, with the assistance of a force pump, raise "water to the several stories, allowing it to be drawn freely whenever wanted." One still had to go to the basement of the hotel for a bath, however, to one of the seventeen "bathing rooms" or showers. (It was not until 1875 when the hotel was remodeled that the Astor had private bathrooms, many of them large converted parlors which were unfashionable at the time.)

The *New York Constellation* in an account of the opening of the hotel commented on the Astor's gas lighting: "The house was lighted by this gas everybody is discussing; but the quantity consumed being greater than common, it gave out suddenly in the midst of a cotillion. Gas is a handsome light, but liable at all times to give the company the slip; and it is illy calculated for the ordinary use of the family."

Mr. Stetson was manager almost from the start and he deserves much of the credit for the popularity of the Astor House. He was a young man at the time but showed promise as a hotel keeper. At an interview with Astor, the owner questioned his ability to keep a hotel. Stetson replied: "Yes, I can keep any hotel in the city. I will keep a hotel, not a tavern." "And just what is the difference between a hotel and a tavern," demanded Mr. Astor. "Just the difference between what your hotel is and what you wish it to be. A tavern keeper knows how to get to market and how to feed so many people at a public table. A hotel keeper is a gentleman who stands on a level with his guests," and with that Stetson got the job! He made it his business to know just what went on both in the hotel and in the city and was the generous friend of many a guest.

Jones, the baggage master, came to the hotel even before Stet-

son. He had charge of all the luggage that came and went in the Astor House carriages and handled the trunks of many of the great men of the nation. A general handyman, "all you had to do was give him the key to your room, and your order, and you could eat your meals in quietness," according to Mathew Smith in *Sunshine and Shadow in New York*. Jones was an odd sort of character who received no salary; all his pay was in voluntary contributions. At night after work he changed from his working clothes and put on a fashionable overcoat. Cane in hand, Jones left the hotel and returned to his brownstone house in upper New York where he lived in fine style. Picking up trunks, he had saved from $75,000 to $100,000!

The hotel staff consisted mainly of a corps of Irish chambermaids and waiters, the latter in white cotton jackets, civil and attentive, but with a notion of independence. In the large pleasant dining room everything ran smoothly under Stetson's watchful eye. So gigantic and palatial a place was the Astor House that it even had its own printing press to strike off the daily bill of fare. Alexander Mackay, in his three-volume work on America (1850), summed it up well: "It seems to be a great self sustaining establishment, doing all but growing and grinding the corn, and feeding and slaughtering the meat consumed by it. Nowhere in the world is the hotel system carried on to such an extent as it is in America." Schliemann was likewise impressed and described the Astor House as "the most gigantic and grandest hotel I ever saw; it is provided with more than 300 bedrooms, besides many large saloons, and smoking and private chambers. There is a reading room for the sole use of boarders, furnished with papers from all states in the Union. Patriotism does not allow any foreign papers."

An account in the *New York Sun and Herald*, June 6, 1920, mentions many of the Astor's famous guests: "The men who used that portal and trod the curving marble steps winding up to the office floor included Andrew Jackson, 'Sam' Houston, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, Abraham Lincoln, Nathaniel

Hawthorne, Charles Dickens, General Winfield Scott, Edgar Allen Poe, and Macready the actor. Rachel, Jenny Lind, and many other famous women had been the Astor's guests. . . . Thurlow Weed, who was the pioneer political boss of the Empire State had his political headquarters in the Astor House for years. From that solid old granite facade of the Astor Louis Kossuth looked out upon the throng acclaiming him as he made his adieu to America and its people. From these Broadway steps the late King Edward VII, when he was the young Prince of Wales, a curly haired youth in 1860, smiled upon the multitude, and bowed to its cheers. . . . In no other place in the city probably had so many pageants started. In no other had so many important campaigns, political, financial and commercial been planned and prosecuted, unless in later years in the Fifth Avenue Hotel."

After a glamorous seventy-seven year existence, the Astor finally closed its doors to the public in 1913.

THE ASTOR'S COMPETITORS

Other hotels opened in 1836 were the Athenaeum at the corner of Broadway and Leonard Streets, conducted by Edward Windust of saloon fame, who failed to be equally successful with his hotel, and the Pacific. A picture of the latter at The New-York Historical Society bears the following inscription: "The new and spacious building situated at 162 Greenwich Street is now open as a Public House under the superintendence of Mr. Benjamin Jessup and R. C. Nichols, the proprietor. The location is central, about midway between the landing of the Philadelphia and North River steamboats, is most desirable in not being disturbed by the noise and bustle of a thronged street. The parlours, drawing rooms, and bed chambers are large, airy, and well lighted, and each one is furnished with a fire place." There were, of course, separate parlors and dining rooms for the ladies.

The American Hotel first opened in 1827 but was rebuilt in 1838. Opposite City Hall Park at Broadway and Barclay Streets,

it was managed by William B. Cozzens, formerly of Tammany Hall. The American was renowned for its dinners, such as that of the St. Nicholas Society on December 6th, 1839, when Phillip Hone noted in his diary that "Mr. Cozzens gave us as good a dinner as I ever sat down to, all excellent, well served, hot, and the wines capital."

The famous dancer Fanny Elssler also wrote about the American in a letter of May 8, 1840: "I alighted at the American Hotel where I had been strongly recommended, and was ushered with great civility into a handsome saloon, but was promised even a better one on the first vacancy. My exertions had made me quite hungry so I ordered my dinner, not a little curious to see something of the mysteries of an American cuisine. I must confess my first dinner astonished me outright. The table was most elegantly garnished with fine linen and beautiful glass—and would you believe it?—I was so positively assured by those who had been here that a napkin was not to be found in the country, that I had consequently brought some dozen with me. I found them useless. Four or five courses were served, and nothing could have been better cooked or of better quality. There is 'science' in the kitchens of the hotel, and I begin to think that America is not quite so barbarous as fine folks have assured me."

The Carleton House, conducted by Benson and Hodges began operation in 1839 at 350 Broadway. George Combe, landing in New York, drove directly there where he "had a soothing mint julep as it was a very hot day." The Howard Hotel, Horace Greeley's favorite, was also opened in 1839 by Daniel and John Howard on the east side of Broadway at the corner of Maiden Lane. "Plain American cooking" was featured in the hotel's marble-tiled dining room, and its ballroom, the scene of many notable soirees, boasted imported mirrors reaching from the floor almost to the ceiling, with damask and Oriental tapestry hung between each two mirrors. The Clarendon, built about the same period, two blocks north of the Astor at 304 Broadway, was for many years a favorite stopping place for English visitors.

The story of the New York Hotel, opened in 1844, is one of

an enterprising foreigner who "made good." S. B. Monnot, its proprietor, came to this country from France as a cook and was as successful with his hotel as with his pastry. The location was at that time far uptown (721 Broadway between Washington Square and Waverly Place) and held by pessimists to be a wild and perilous undertaking. It cost almost half a million dollars to build and equip the six-story two-hundred-room hotel, the first to have hall baths. I. N. Hubbard, who lived adjacent to the New York, tells how during a yellow fever epidemic the members of the Exchange met there daily from noon to two P.M. until they could return downtown. He and Colonel Isaac Reed, an old boarder at the hotel, often enjoyed billiards together or the company of southern visitors who frequented the aristocratic New York Hotel. During the Civil War, the New York was thought to be the headquarters for Southern spies and many of its guests were followed by secret service men.

The Irving House on Broadway from Chambers to Reade Street, the last large hotel built in the first half of the nineteenth century, was constructed in 1848 by Captain Dan Howard who had profitably sold the Howard Hotel a few years earlier. Besides its 150,000 dollars' worth of furniture, the Irving could claim the first hotel bridal chambers, which the *Tribune* reporter declared were "love bowers where Eve might have whispered love to Adam after she was expelled from paradise, without regretting the Change."

Soon many grander and more costly hotels, some built to accommodate visitors to the Crystal Palace exhibition in the 1850's, eclipsed the glory of the American, the Astor, the New York, and Irving House. In 1852 the new Metropolitan provided steam heat on all floors, but only in the public rooms and hallways. The St. Nicholas opened a year later with window curtains costing $700 apiece, and had the distinction of being the first hotel to use spring beds in its 500 rooms. And when the Fifth Avenue was opened in 1859, visitors flocked from far and near to see its amazing new "vertical railway."

It was no wonder that the New York hotels were called

"elysiums of grandeur," and that a *Tribune* reporter wrote on December 3, 1852: "It is evident that a new era has begun for these great metropolitan caravansaries. Henceforth they must be furnished without regard to cost; the days have gone by when quiet comfort, mere neatness, and a good table were sufficient."

EATING HOUSES

We turn now to the panorama of eating houses, as restaurants were termed. They were limited in number for the most part, and commonplace in appointments until well on into the 1840's. Utilitarian in purpose, eating houses were usually located in the business part of the city, and patronage, as compared with hotels, was of necessity rather than for epicureanism.

Though the food was of excellent quality, the cooking of it was generally not on so high a plane as at the Astor House or Delmonico's. Europeans complained that the meat was too raw: "Venison is a dainty," said Grattan, "but is always served disgustingly underdone on pewter or tin plates standing over burners with spirits of wine to enable each person to cook it in a gravy according to his fancy." Mrs. Trollope, who could almost always be counted on to criticise American institutions, said the bread was good, but that the natives preferred half-baked rolls morning and evening. Indigestible corn was eaten in a variety of forms: with hominy flour made into a dozen kinds of cakes, all bad, or mixed with one-third wheat to make bread. "Strange mixtures" she discovered were eggs with oysters, ham and apple sauce, beefsteak with stewed peaches, and salt fish with onions. "They are 'extravagantly fond,' to use their own phrase, of deserts (desarts), pastry, preserved fruits, creams, puddings, pies, and all kinds of 'sweets.'"

At any but the best places food was generally fried, because that was the simplest method of preparation. Gaillard Hunt, author of *Life in America One Hundred Years Ago*, decided that cooking was poor because Americans were preoccupied

with things which seemed more important than eating. It was no wonder that disorders of the stomach multiplied when people stuffed on a rich diet of badly cooked food. Dietary fads were just starting to come into vogue, and only a few accepted the teachings of Sylvester Graham, the apostle of vegetarianism and whole-wheat bread; the rest swallowed Dr. Spolen's Elixir of Health or Sebring's Cordial for Indigestion.

We are indebted to one Mr. Foster of the *New York Tribune* for an amusing description of the eating houses in his series of articles, "New York in Slices." Despite the satiric propensities of the author, the scene is in all likelihood accurate: "Beefsteak-andtatarvegetabes—numbertwenty . . . wa-y-ter . . . readyminitsir, drecklysir . . . biledamand cabbage shillin, ricepudn sixpnce . . . at the baf you please. Imagine a continuous stream of sounds such as these, about the size of the Croton River, flowing through the banks of clattering plates and clashing knives and forks, perfumed with the steam from a mammoth kitchen, roasting, boiling, baking, frying beneath the floor . . . and you will have some notion of a New York eating house. We once undertook to count these establishments in the lower part of the city, but got surfeited on the smell of fried grease and were obliged to go home in a cab. . . . A thoroughbred diner downtown will look at a bill of fare, order his dinner, bolt it down, and himself be engaged in putting off a lot of goods on a greenhorn . . . while you are deciding whether you will take ox-tail or mock turtle. He surveys the kitchen with his nose as he comes upstairs—selects his dish by intuition and swallows it by steam and the electro-galvanic battery. As to digesting it that's none of his business." Foster goes on to say that custom has made it possible for 30,000 persons in the mercantile and financial businesses to "put up with and put down warm swill instead of soup, perspiring joints for delicate entrees, and corn meal and molasses instead of meringues a la creme a la rose."

An equally unappetizing scene is that of breakfast at Niblo's as recounted by Thomas Hamilton in 1833: "All was hurry, bustle,

clamor and voracity, and the business of repletion went forward with a rapidity altogether unexampled. . . . Departures before I had even taken my place at table became every instant more numerous, and in a few minutes the hall was empty." The table while Hamilton ate was littered with the skeleton of a chicken, a mustard pot upset, and the cloth was defiled with stains of eggs, coffee, and gravy.

Perhaps it was not quite as bad as it sounds, for Basil Hall, who visited New York in 1827–28, was delighted with *his* first breakfast in that city: "We had merely asked for some fresh shad . . . but a great steaming juicy beefsteak also made its appearance, flanked by a dish of mutton cutlets. . . . To these viands were added a splendid arrangement of snow-white rolls, regiments of hot toast, with oceans of tea and coffee."

The Picture of New York (1846) said of the city's restaurants: "There are 123 eating houses in the city of New York. Those establishments where oysters exclusively are kept are not included. . . . These establishments give employment to nearly a thousand persons, of whom Irish and Germans form a large portion. The waiters are paid, the men from ten to twelve dollars, and the boys from six to seven dollars a month, their board and lodging included. The cooks get about eight and ten, and the scullions or dishwashers about four or five dollars a month. In some of these eating houses the hands are kept at work for about fifteen and sixteen hours out of the twenty-four. These places seldom close before one and two o'clock in the morning, but as a general rule, the cheap eating houses close between eight and ten in the evening. . . . There are two principal classes of eating houses in New York—the cheap and the dear. At Sweeney's and similar establishments the usual prices are six cents for a plate of meats, and three cents for a plate of vegetables. The more pretending ask twice or three time these prices."

Sweeney's, at 11 Ann Street, was known as a "sixpenny eating house," and its owner, Daniel Sweeney, was looked upon as the father of the cheap eating establishment! The dinner menu listed

roastbeef, veal, pork, etc. for sixpence; rice mush and milk, nine pence; fried potatos three pence; and extra bread, three pence. The room was laid out like the floor of a church, with table and benches for four in place of pews along the aisles. Waiters were ranged at stated intervals to receive the dishes and distribute them on either side with superior dexterity and precision. "Sometimes," wrote Mr. Foster, "a nice bit of tender 'rosegoose' may be seen flying down the aisle, without its original wings, followed closely in playful sport by a small plate of "bilebeef,' vegetable, etc., until both arrive at their destination; when goose leaps lightly in front of a poet of the Sunday press, while the fat and lazy beef dumps itself down with perfect resignation before one of the b'hoys who has just come in from a fire and is hungry."

George W. Brown, known as the "honest proprietor," resorted to the restaurant business to rebuild his fortune after he failed as a grocer in the Bowery. He opened a strictly American eating house on Water Street, which soon became celebrated for its varied bill of fare. After his first successful year he invited all his creditors to a sumptuous repast, and when they unfolded their damask napkins, envelopes containing checks for the amount owed plus interest fell out on the table. Thereafter, according to Elbram Dayton in *Last Days of Knickerbocker Life in New York*, men flocked to spend their dollars with the honest landlord whose famous pies and puddings were temptingly displayed on a long counter.

Another popular food dispensary was the dining room of Clark and Brown at 86 Maiden Lane, near its junction with Liberty Street. It was the meeting place of Yorkshiremen who were engaged in selling English consignments and remitting the proceeds in cotton or gold, and gathered to discuss business or the arrival of a packet while enjoying a thick slice of roast beef, plum pudding, and Burton Stock Ale. When the restaurant first opened in the 1820's it was renowned for its moderate prices. Charles Haswell in *Reminiscences of an Octogenarian* recalls that at the time the Spanish one-eighth dollar was in circulation

and a plate of meat cost twelve and a half cents. Once a diner offered Clark a dime and two cents which he refused with the remark that the other half-cent kept his horse!

Other well-frequented restaurants were Harry Vern's "Porter House Saloon," at 13 Ann Street, a favorite gathering place for firemen; and "Sandy" Welch's, called the "Terrapin Lunch" because of the famous turtle soup served there. Sandy was a popular proprietor and attracted diners from all parts of the city, especially politicians who discussed the recent events of city government over the neatly laid tables.

In the early part of the nineteenth century two enterprising foreigners, an Italian and a Frenchman, started in the restaurant-café business. Both were industrious, frugal, persevering men, professional cooks and confectioners, and pioneers in serving continental cuisine. In 1815 Guerin, the Frenchman, opened a confectionery at 120 Broadway, and in 1823 John Delmonico opened his little shop at Two South William Street, between Fulton and Ann, directly opposite the North Dutch Church. The place contained about six pine tables and chairs to match. The foreign element, attracted by the filets, macaroni, café, chocolat, and petits fours, gathered to drink from earthenware cups, and consume the limited assortment of pastries ranged on a broad counter with two-tine forks. All were duly served by the chef in person wearing white paper cap and apron, and his reputation soon spread.

Hone visited Delmonico's in 1830, but was not enthusiastic: "Moore, Girard and I went yesterday to dine at Delmonico's, a restauranteur in William Street which I had heard was on the Parisian plan and very good. He satisfied our curiosity, but not our appetites; and I think we are prepared, when our opinions are asked, to say with the Irishman who used lamp oil with his salad instead of olive oil that if it were not for the name of the thing he would as lief eat butter." However, Mr. Hone later changed his mind, and on the death of John Delmonico in 1841 wrote: "Mr. Delmonico was an amiable man, very obliging in his

house, and will not fail to be remembered as long as good dinners dwell pleasantly upon the recollection of gastronomes."

Delmonico gathered a substantial following and in 1835 after his second place had burned, he opened on a larger scale with his brother at the corner of William and Beaver Streets in a building that is still used as a restaurant today. The rich merchants would take lunch and a glass of wine there, and travelled epicures said it was the only really aristocratic eating house in the United States.

The lower saloon was for the use of indifferent customers who came in a hurry and returned to business as soon as possible, while upstairs men of education and refined tastes gathered in little knots to linger over dinner. Visiting Delmonico's, said Foster, one saw the most refined and genteel people in New York: "At your right is an elderly French gentleman dining with his son. . . . At the next table we find Richard Grant White, the music critic of a morning paper, tall and striking with a ruddy beard. Though under twenty five, he was a well bred man, an epicure, dilettante, and gallant critique. He has evidently just finished—breakfast, for there stands the gigantic chocolate cup and the remains of the oeufs en mirroir with which he has been trifling. To the right among scalloped oranges and meringues à la creme are Parke Godwin, a homeopathist, Associationist, Hydropathist, and what not, and Charles Fenno Hoffman, *the* American songwriter." We might go on to mention other prominent New Yorkers dining at Delmonico's, but over the years the list is endless.

In November, 1841, the founder of Delmonico's passed away and the following announcement was put in the paper: "The widow, brother, and nephew Lorenzo of the late and much respected John Delmonico tender their heartfelt thanks to the friends, Benevolent Societies, and Northern Liberty Fire Engine Company, who accompanied his remains to his last home. The establishment will be reopened today under the same firm of Delmonico Brothers, and no pains of the bereft family will be

spared to give general satisfaction. Restaurant, barroom, and private dinners as usual." So well-established was Delmonico's that it remained New York's favorite restaurant for many, many years.

Two types of food that New Yorkers particularly enjoyed were ice cream and oysters. The former was served at confectioners and at the public gardens, while the bi-valves were found in great quantities in the city's innumerable oyster cellars.

Most of the cellars were housed in Canal Street which became associated with good oysters, and other places in the neighborhood advertised "Oysters on the Canal Street Plan." The "plan" was to give a customer all the oysters he could eat for sixpence, and the proprietors rarely lost money this way, for if a customer became too greedy a bad oyster slipped onto the plate soon curbed his appetite! An "Oyster Balloon" was displayed above each of the cellars, made of bright red muslin stretched over a global frame of wire, and illuminated at night by a candle placed within, "the swinging crimson beacon serving to inform the hungry lover of the bi-valve where he might procure the humble 'shilling stew' or the more expensive fry or roast," said Dayton.

The first-class oyster cellar, such as Downing's, was apt to surprise the visitor with luxurious fittings, not evident from the exterior: mirrored arcades, damask curtains, gold-carved work, splendid chandeliers, and magnificent carpeting down the broad center aisle. Downing's, at No. 5 Broad Street in the basement of two small buildings, was run by a Negro proprietor. This cellar was a popular gathering place because of its proximity to the Custom House (at Pine and Cedar Streets), the medium-sized stores, the Merchant's Exchange, and the banks. Dayton recalled that "leading politicians also made it their headquarters, dropping in to have a chat while enjoying their half-dozen Saddle Rocks or Blue Points. A host of men-about-town found time amid their varied duties, schemes, and pleasures to dive down the steep cellar steps to take a peep at Downing and have a few moments cheerful chat." With such surroundings Downing became a medium

of communication from one customer to another, and it was rumored that he had great influence at City Hall. That drew many office-seekers as well as the regular patrons to the famous cellar which was open for oyster business at any time of day. At breakfast one consumed stewed, broiled, or fried oysters; at dinner, oyster soup, oyster sauce on fish, scalloped oysters, oyster pie, and stew. The regular price of a stew cooked with butter and milk, and served with bread and butter and a salad was sixpence.

Thomas Nichols observed that: "It is impossible in a cool climate like that of England to imagine the luxury of ice and iced drinks; (in America) ice creams are the most universal luxury. They are served in public gardens, in saloons that hold 1000 people, at the large confectioners, and on the steamboats at the uniform price of sixpence, and generally of excellent quality and flavor. I wish I were 'posted' in ice cream statistics enough to give an idea of the daily consumption of New York alone. But I have no doubt that it exceeds all of Europe." As far back as 1838 a patent had been taken out for Swan's "atmospheric soda fountain," the forerunner of our modern drug-store lunch counter!

The ice-cream saloons on Broadway or the Bowery were generally "fitted up" in a style of exaggerated finery with gaudy curtains, silver paper, and gilded mirrors. On sultry summer days they would be crowded with throngs of well-dressed men and women. Thompson and Son, "Confectioners, ice cream saloons, and restaurants," established in 1827, advertised in *Views of New York* (1857) as "The first saloon established in this city for the accommodation of ladies. The Bill of Fare contains the variety of soups, fish, joints, steaks, chops, tea, coffee, etc., usual in a first class restaurant. In the confectionary department will be found fruits and other delicacies in their seasons—ice cream, jellies, Charlotte Russe, Meringues, pastry, cakes, French and American confectionary, etc." Thompson's was at 359 Broadway.

Guerin's on Broadway between Pine and Cedar Streets has

already been mentioned. His lavish window displays consisted of imported confectionery, inviting pastry and cakes, choice French cordials, fancy boxes filled with Parisian bonbons and fresh fruits of the season. The shelves inside were lined with brandied preserves and the long counter spread from end to end with tarts and confections. The daily bill of fare consisted of sandwiches, sardines, sweets, coffee, chocolate, and in the summer the ever-popular ice cream. But after a while, Dayton recalls, the cake and pie counter was curtailed, and the retailing of liquors became a prominent feature. When Guerin retired his place degenerated into a cosmopolitan drinking saloon where Americans rushed in for a nip of brandy and water, Frenchmen wandered about sipping absinthe and orgeat, and Italians enjoyed maraschino.

Dayton also speaks of the Café des Mille Colonnes at 307 Broadway, a few doors above Duane Street, which was at first kept by Signor Palmo, a genial, wiry, olive-skinned Italian. Here Italians and French congregated in the evening within the long mirrored walls which reflected gilded columns, to play dominoes on marble tables and enjoy chocolate, ices, and "eau sucrée." In 1842 Mr. Pinteaux took over the café, at which point Charles Haswell notes: "In accommodations and appointments it was far in excess of any previous essay in this country." However, like Guerin's, it too degenerated and in 1848 was known as Pinteaux' saloon. In that year the Broadway Odeon made its headquarters in the rear of the old café to present "tableaux vivants," until the police got wind of a Sunday performance and raided what in its day was one of "the most brilliant and fashionable gathering places in the city."

The various gardens—the Atlantic, New York, Vauxhall, Castle, Conoits, and Niblo's—all served ice cream, tea, etc., to music. Conoit's at 355 Broadway between Leonard and Franklin Streets was a long, narrow plot of ground, densely shaded by trees on whose lower branches were suspended many globes filled with oil. On either side of the garden were arranged boxes

NIBLO'S GARDEN, BROADWAY AND PRINCE ST., 1828

Woodcut, *Valentine's Manuel* 1865, page 631

or compartments brightened with whitewash or green paint, and in each was a plain bare table with seats for four. Colored waiters with white jackets and aprons supplied customers with vanilla and lemon ice cream at one shilling, or pound cake and lemonade. Conoit's was supposed to be on the temperance plan, but those who were "known" could always get a bit of wine or cognac! Niblo had an uptown garden at the corner of Broadway and Prince Streets, a summer retreat away from the dust and the bustle of the city proper. Always the very pattern of neatness, its walks were lined with choice flowers and shrubbery. Part of the garden was a saloon where light entertainment was given and fireworks displayed; there was a separate entrance to another section where Mrs. Niblo was in charge; here the waiters served

ice cream, cooling port wine, or refreshing lemonade under the trees.

Coffee houses, the old meeting place of merchants in the Colonial and Revolutionary periods, had almost disappeared. A few, such as the Merchant's Coffee House at 23 Nassau Street

TONTINE (LEFT) AND MERCHANTS (RIGHT) COFFEE HOUSES
Wall and Water Streets, New York City
The Merchants burned 1804; Tontine, discontinued 1834
Oil painting by Francis Guy, *c.* 1798

The New-York Historical Society

and Brown's Coffee House at 71 Pearl Street, still remained, but they were little more than cafés with an English name, and served wines, liquors, pies, coffee, chocolate, tea, and sandwiches. The cake and coffee *shop* of the 1840's should not be confused with the old Coffee Houses. They were the all-night dives of the period, and at places like "Butter Cake Dicks," said Foster, "the hungry night owl could obtain a plate of biscuits with a lump of butter for three cents, or pumpkin pie for four cents, and a cup of Croton (water) gratis. The principal supporters of these luxurious establishments are firemen and newsboys; here with butter cakes and coffee spread ostentatiously before them they

discuss grave questions such as the relative speed of boats entered in the next regatta."

Taverns were, early in our history, an important institution in the community as a medium of exchange of all news. But with the growth of the city and of extensive travel, the tavern became by the middle of the nineteenth century, a far more impersonal "saloon." But whether a place was called a tavern or a saloon, a hotel or an eating house, a café or a garden, Americans were still fond of drink. True, New Yorkers drank water with their meals, much to the disgust of the Continentals, but Periera's prediction that "A great change has taken place within a few years past (1830–40) in relation to drinking habits. . . ; and if the signs of the time are not wholly deceptive the time is not far when the common use of intoxicating beverages . . . will be entirely unknown" was indeed far off its mark.

Wine was popular in those days as well as the ales, beers, mint juleps, and oddly named concoctions such as "Cherry Bounce." The favorite wine was Madeira at $2–$2.50 a bottle, some imported as far back as 1798. The Astor House wine list also included Moselles, Sauternes, Champagne, Claret, Burgundy, Port and Sherry.

Three old vestiges of tavern life remained in the 1830's and 40's: Fraunces Tavern, The Shakespeare Tavern, and Old Tom's; the first and last still cater to New Yorkers today. Fraunces Tavern, between Pearl and Broad Streets, originally a Delancy homestead, was opened as a tavern by Sam Fraunces in 1762. It was a popular establishment, famous for its Madeira wine and the entertainments in the "Long Room." There concerts and balls were given, and it was also the home of the New York Chamber of Commerce as well as Washington's headquarters. Here, too, the great General made his farewell speech to his officers.

The Shakespeare Tavern on the corner of Nassau and Fulton Streets was a low, yellow-brick building that had been built before the Revolution. On the second floor there was a large

room for public meetings, and on the third floor, a similar place devoted to concerts and balls. The Euterpean Society met here monthly, and the Veterans Corps of the Artillery had their dinners at the Shakespeare, but it was chiefly a Thespian rendezvous. It was bought in 1808 by Thomas Hodgkinson, a one time actor, and he was succeeded by his son in law, James C. Stonewall in 1825. Of the latter Haswell says: "He was an exceptionally courtly man, an attentive and obliging landlord, and an approved caterer, so that his house was unquestionably one of the most popular of the period. Here gathered the wits of the day, poets, writers, and musicians: Fitz-Greene Halleck, Robert G. Sands, James K. Paulding, and Willis Gaylord Clark." The Shakespeare was demolished in 1836.

Old Tom's, erected in 1800 on the corner of Thames Street and Trinity Place, was patterned after the old-time English ale houses with a sanded floor, heavy round oak tables and stout chairs. Customers could then, as now, enjoy venison, bear meat, and other game, while they downed a "Cherry Bounce" or musty ale.

Ed Windust's saloon was located at 5–11 Chatham Street with a side entrance at 5 Ann Street. The side door was the bane of cab drivers who would deposit and wait for a customer at the Chatham Street entrance, while the clever fellow would leave immediately via Ann Street without having paid the driver. Only a few steps south of the Park Theater, Windust's was a theatrical rendezvous frequented by actors and actresses, newspaper men, artists, musicians, and an endless trail of admirers who attended the performances. Tiers of boxes and stalls ranged along the sides where six could comfortably sit and partake of a well-prepared supper, and the rooms were filled each evening between the acts and after the performance with gay crowds.

The walls of the saloon were covered with stage reminiscences, portraits of actors, quaint old playbills, and clippings of witticisms. Prominent authors, including Miles O'Reilly, Robert Lee, and Horace Greeley, occasionally stopped to enjoy one of

TAMMANY SOCIETY CELEBRATING THE 4TH OF JULY 1812

Tammany Hall, Nassau at Frankfort St., at left; vendors' booths at right
Oil painting by William P. Chappel, 1869

The New-York Historical Society

Windust's famous dinners, and leading actors such as Tyrone Power, Billy Williams, and Halleck, met over a foaming tankard. Once, Dayton recalls, "the erratic Booth (Junius Brutus) and the fiery Kean ensconced themselves in one of the boxes and indulged in a wild debauch during their joint engagement at the Park."

Our discussion would not be complete without some mention of the food vendors who cried their wares along the cobblestone streets. At the July Fourth celebration, a fair was held every year in City Hall Park. Each booth was attractively decorated with plates of oysters, a fork stuck in the board next to each plate;

clams sweltering in the hot sun; pineapples, pies, puddings, and barley sugar; and the main attraction, roast pigs. Note however, that these are not the same pigs that, according to Charles Dickens, roamed the streets of New York!

Down around the Bowery, negro mammies served steaming hot yams from hot charcoal fires, baked pears which one picked up by the stem from a pan or crock of thick syrup, and most popular of all, hot corn carried in pails full of hot water. The venders of oysters, clams, fish, buns, hot spiced gingerbread, and strawberries, all yelped their wares to prospective customers. The baker's boy every afternoon took a basket with fresh baked tea rusk and cried: "Tea ruk, ruk, ruk, tea ruk." And the clam-vendor called:

> Here's clams, here's clams, here's clams today
> They lately come from Rockaway;
> They're good to roast, they're food to fry,
> They're good to make a clam pot-pie.
> Here they go!

By 1850 numerous elegant hotels and eating houses were to be found in New York; and Windust, the saloon-keeper, was surely justified in hanging above his door a sign bearing the motto: "Nunquam Non Paratus."

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SARAH TRUMBULL AS "INNOCENCE" WITH A DOVE

By her husband, Col. John Trumbull, New York, early 1820's

Courtesy of the Yale University Art Gallery

[Since writing the following article yet another portrait of Sarah has come to my attention—one painted, probably at London shortly after the marriage, now the property of Mrs. John W. Muir of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia. It is probably the original of a similar portrait, formerly and erroneously, attributed to Samuel Lovett Waldo, at Yale (Cat. no. 1929.1).—THEODORE SIZER]

WHO WAS THE COLONEL'S LADY?

THE STRANGE CASE OF MRS. JOHN TRUMBULL

by THEODORE SIZER

Professor of the History of Art, Yale University

ONE OF THE MOST inexplicable acts in the long life of the proud and impulsive Colonel Trumbull was his quiet—one might almost say, secret—marriage to an obscure English girl, which took place at London on the first day of October of the year 1800. The groom, who for the past half-dozen years had been serving as one of the American Commissioners for the adjustment of claims under the Jay Treaty, was forty-four and the bride twenty-six. Much mystery surrounded the identity of the lady at the time; the riddle is yet to be solved. We shall probably never know much about her or the real and hidden motives which precipitated the Colonel's sudden marriage to the socially unacceptable, strikingly beautiful Sarah. Tongues wagged and evil gossip circulated. The motivating forces and essential facts were concealed—and still are. Their secret remains sealed in their tomb.[1]

It appears somewhat indecent to inquire into an affair, of a private nature, which took place a century and a half ago, but for the fact that Trumbull was a public figure. Events, even of the most personal nature, which conditioned his life and his art, are of interest and concern to the historian. One might be excused, therefore, for reviewing the limited evidence which has survived the passage of time, with the hope that truth, so far as it can be ascertained, might replace scandalous hearsay. And this we shall proceed to do.

The Colonel was married at St. Mary's (Church of England), Parish of Hendon (seven miles northwest of London), County

[1] The mortal remains of the pair are contained in a vault in the basement of the Yale University Art Gallery.

of Middlesex. The Parish Register,[2] kept in that ancient stone edifice, for 1800, page 50, discloses:

No. 195, John Trumbull of the Parish of Mary le bone County of Middlesex and Sarah Hope Harvey of the Parish of Hendon on the first October 1800 were married by

Ralph Worseley
Officiating Minister

Witness { C. Gore
Eliz[th] Halbrook

The dramatis personae, other than the bride and groom, were: the officiating minister, Ralph Worsley,[3] Christopher Gore,[4] of "Gore Place," Waltham, Massachusetts, an old Harvard friend of Trumbull's, then serving as a fellow-member on the Jay Commission; and Elizabeth Halbrook, presumably a friend of the bride. The gossip, William Dunlap, Trumbull's old fellow-student at Benjamin West's, stated that Rufus King[5] of Boston, then United States Minister to Great Britain, another Harvard friend, was also there.[6] So much for the identification of the principals participating in this little drama. The one-eyed miniaturist, Dunlap, noted long after the event:

[2] I am endebted to my colleague, John Marshall Phillips, Director of the Yale University Art Gallery, for visiting St. Mary's, in July 1952, and copying the record of the marriage for me.

Although eight volumes of *Middlesex Parish Registers, Marriages*, have been published (W. P. W. Phillimore and Thomas Gurney, eds., London, Phillimore & Co., 1909–1927), the series is still incomplete and Hendon is not yet included.

In the Trumbull papers (at the Yale Library) there is a "True Extract from the Register of Marriages belonging to the Parish of Hendon certified by C (Charles?) Barton, Hendon, 30 May 1801, or eight months after the wedding.

[3] Ralph Worsley (or Worseley—it is spelled both ways), 1766–1848, appears in *The Clerical Guide or, Ecclesiastic Directory . . . of the Church of England . . .* (London: Printed for F. C. and J. Rivington, 1822) as Rector of Finchley, "pop[ulation] 1292; Value in the King's Books, £ 20 - 0 - 0; Patron, Bp. of London." Trumbull painted his portrait (listed erroneously by him in 1828 as "Ralph Worley") probably at this time. It is now unlocated.

[4] 1758–1827. Trumbull painted Gore's portrait twice that year, one of which is at Yale and the other at the Massachusetts Historical Society.

[5] 1755–1827. Trumbull also painted King twice in 1800; one of the portraits is at Yale and the other the property of Charles King Lennig, Junior, of Chestnut Hill, Philadelphia.

[6] *Diary of William Dunlap* (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1930, 3 vols.), for 3 September 1833, III: 738–739.

Rufus King told [Gulian C.] Verplank the well known story of the marriage, the Lady being handed into church (where T[rumbull] with King & [Christopher] Gore were waiting with y^e^ priest) from a Coach which drove off & that after the immediately performed ceremony (King giving the bride to T.) King asked who is this lady I have given to you & was anser'd "Mrs. Trumbull, Sir." The secret has been kept, but Verplank supposes that Rufus King knew who she was.

This he followed by the observation:

Trumbull gave to [the miniature painter] Arch^d^ Robertson [of New York] the maiden name of his wife as Hope, the daughter of Wm Hope of Perthshire. She was born on 1st of Aug^t^ near London: died 12th April 1824.[7]

This last statement of the unreliable Dunlap is confirmed by a note in the Colonel's hand at the Yale Library, which reads:

Sarah, youngest daughter of William Hope of Perthshire in Scotland, was born on the 1st of April 1774 in the vicinity of London, was married there on the 1st of October 1800 to John Trumbull of Connecticut, and died in New York on the 12th of April 1824. She left this painful and wearisome life in the humble hope of enjoying through the Divine Mercy of the merits of the blessed Redeemer a happy immortality.

Life, indeed, must have been wearisome, if not desperate, for poor, uneducated Sarah. She had few friends other than her loyal husband. It is curious that when he wrote her he usually addressed her as "my best friend," "my dearest friend," or a combination of the two.[8]

The first member of the family to visit the newly-weds was a sixteen-year-old nephew, John M. Trumbull, who reported to his family:

I found Mr. Trumbull in the City at his house in Welbeck Street 72, he was very glad to see me and rec'd me as a Nephew, his Lady is a fine woman, he lives in very handsome style for London and Elegant for America, he has a house in the City and at Hammersmith keeps his Coach & servants in proportion. London a large City and Noble in its structure, but in beauty nothing to New York the buildings are very rusty with the

[7] *Ibid.* for 12 October 1834, III: 828.

[8] There are many such letters, mostly written during the year 1819 from Washington, Baltimore, and Philadelphia, preserved at the Library of Congress.

smoke of the coles used here. I should prefer the American Cities to London. Mrs. Trumbull has neither Father, Mother, Sister, Brother, Uncle, Aunt, and may almost say Friend but her husband here. I have not yet found her name before married. Will inform you when I do. Be so good as to Excuse errors as I am in a strange place, surrounded by hundreds of People.[9]

Nearly a year after the marriage John wrote his brother, Jonathan Trumbull, from London on 1 May 1801:

. . . In this Country the Education of the Female Sex is said to be highly improved . . . I cannot say, however, that I think the time spent in acquiring this perfection [in music] is well spent . . . [it being rather] a waste of time & trouble upon the accomplishment, which is elegant . . . [with] the more solid acquirements neglected. The Education of Mrs. T. I am happy was not of the fashionable kind: the Orphan daughter of Parents in middle life. She lost her mother at a very early time, before She remembers, and remained for several years in the Country under the Care of a good notable Woman, who regarded reading, writing & Housewifery, as the essentials of Female education. At 15 or 16, she came to Town & spent some years in the Family of a considerable Merch[t]. whose wife had been the intimate friend of her mother. Here also, the business of the Family & Economy were regarded as the principal objects of attention. By this means, while she has read as much as most women, She has acquired knowledge of other kinds here little attended to: there are few things relating to the House in Town or Country which She does not pretty well know & no article of her own dress, except Shoes, which she cannot & does not make. Her Parents, as I said, died when she was young; one sister she had who died when she was an infant, and the only brother she lost a few years later: thus She has no near relations living, of her blood: and in this Country still more than ours, other ties are feeble. No attachments therefore bind her strongly here and when the time arrives for leaving this country, I trust she will leave it with little regret, & soon become a good American. You will not therefore expect to see a modern fine Lady.[10]

[9] Letter to Solomon Williams, dated 1 May 1801, in the possession of Col. Ralph H. Isham of New York, a Trumbull descendant. The writer was the second son of David Trumbull of Norwich, Connecticut. The "M" in the boy's name stood for nothing at all but to distinguish him from John, the painter, Harvard 1773, and the latter's second cousin, John, the poet, Yale 1767. The Colonel, who was able to attract but few British sitters at this time, painted a portrait of his nephew during the visit (now the property of Colonel Isham)

For further family gossip see George Dudley Seymour, "Colonel John Trumbull and his well-kept Secret" in *New Haven* (New Haven: Privately Printed for the Author, 1942), 248–249.

[10] Ms., Yale Library.

This gives something of a picture but little explanation of the lady's identity or how long John had known her before his third journey to London (in 1794) in company with John Jay.

In the Trumbull papers at Yale there is a note that Sarah Harvey lived at Clitter House in Hendon, county of Middlesex, prior to 1 October 1799, in part of an eighteen-room house, with stable, belonging to one John Fisher at 3 Glocester Place, London, from that date, for exactly a year, to the date of the nuptials. Possibly Trumbull paid the £90 rent. The quarterly payments, signed by J. W. Fisher, are noted as "received from Mrs. Hervey." (Hervey and Harvey were often used interchangeably, in this period of many variations of spelling.) But we have it from her husband that her maiden name was Sarah *Hope*.[11] It is possible that she was married to an unidentifiable gentleman named *Harvey*.[12] That her last name at the time of her marriage was Harvey is so stated on the certificate above mentioned. Two days before her second (?) marriage Trumbull rented a furnished house in lower Mall, Hammersmith, from one John Edward Waring. Of the lady's four names, Sarah Hope Harvey Trumbull, there can be no dispute.

Dunlap states, at second hand: "That unhappy Woman, Trumbull's Wife, he [Verplanck] says, there is reason to believe was the illegitimate daughter of Lord Thurlow, who had several children of this description, took no special care of them but left them an annuity of 300 a year for life."[13] As to Lord Thurlow, *the Dictionary of National Biography* has it: "In consequence of an early disappointment, Thurlow, had not married. . . . By his mistress, Mrs. Hervey . . . to whom he was much attached, he had several children, for whom he provided."[14] There are several references to this in the *Gentleman's Magazine:* "His

[11] Letter 16 July 1803 to William Williams, New-York Historical Society.

[12] There are no (published) records of such a marriage having taken place in the Counties of Middlesex or Kent for this period.

[13] *Diary, op. cit.*, for 3 September 1833. III: 738.

[14] LVI: 384. Edward Thurlow, *c.* 1730–1806, Baron of Thurlow and of Ashfield, was Lord Chancellor—with one short interruption—from 1778 to 1792.

Lordship has left three daughters; two of whom are married."[15] Again: "His Lordship was never married, but has left issue three daughters; to two of whom he has bequeathed 70,000£ each. To the third (Mrs. Brown), who married against his consent . . . he has bequeathed only 50£. . . . He has also left to Mrs. Hervey an annuity of 1000£."[16] And again: ". . . Thurlow, then idling in the coffee-room or toying with Miss Hervey in the bar . . ."[17]

To complicate the picture further: "He [Lord Thurlow] subsequently transferred his affections to a lady of extraordinary beauty and of an honourable family, by whom he had several daughters. To this connection the Duchess of Kingston imprudently ventured to advert by observing that she could relate 'a Canterbury tale,'"[18] and: "The ecclesiastical Court are come to a resolution that the Duchess of Kingston is Mrs. Hervey; and the sentence will be public in a fortnight."[19]

One can speculate on whether Mrs. Hervey, Duchess of Kingston and alleged mistress of Lord Thurlow, was the mother of the beautiful Sarah Trumbull and responsible for her maiden name of Hervey.[20] The record of this lady's famous trial for bigamy before the House of Lords, occupying nearly three hundred closely printed pages, affords an interesting insight of eighteenth-century morals and manners.[21] Perhaps, after all, Ver-

[15] 1806, II: 882.

[16] *Ibid.*, 975.

[17] *Ibid.*, 974.

[18] *Memoires of Sir Nathanial William Wraxall, 1772–1784*, Henry B. Wheatley (ed.), 5 vols. (London: Bickers & Son, 1884), I: 412.

[19] *An 18th Century Journal*, John Hampden (compiler) (London: Macmillan, 1940), 116. The reference should have been to the House of Lords instead of to the Ecclesiastical Court.

[20] One becomes quickly lost in a maze of illegitimacy. Of Augustus John Hervey, 3rd Earl of Bristol, 1724–1779, Lord of the Admiralty, 1771–1775, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., IV: 575) states: "In . . . 1744 he had been secretly married to Elizabeth Chudleigh . . . afterwards duchess of Kingston, but this union was dissolved in 1769. The earl died . . . [in] 1779, leaving no legitimate issue. . . ." And again (XV: 822), for Evelyn Pierrepont, Duke of Kingston, 1711–1773: he "was chiefly famous for his connection with Elizabeth Chudleigh, who claimed to be duchess of Kingston. . . ."

[21] T. B. Howell, Esq., *A Complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treason and Other Crimes and Misdemeanors* . . . (London: for Longman. . . . 1816), XX: 355–651, entitled: "551. The Trial of Elizabeth, calling herself Duchess Dowager of Kingston, for Bigamy, before the Right Hon. the House of Peers, in

planck was correct in believing her to be an illegitimate daughter of Lord Thurlow. On the other hand, if Mrs. Hervey received an annuity of £1000 in 1806, *that* Mrs. Hervey could not have been the Duchess of Kingston, who died in 1788. Her first husband might possibly have had an illegitimate daughter by a Miss or Mrs. Hope. This would account for Mrs. Trumbull's names of Hope Harvey, and also for the confusion of her mother with the Duchess—but all of this, in the absence of any proof, must remain in the realm of pure conjecture.

The New-York Historical Society, of which Trumbull was long a member and Vice President, in 1843, the year of the Colonel's death, stated that:

> There has always hung a mystery over this marriage, and the family of the lady, which, perhaps the yet unopened papers of Colonel Trumbull may solve. The late governor de Witt Clinton once told us that he believed she was a natural daughter of Lord Thurlow. But no matter; and it is probably enough to say that she was the idol supremely throned in the heart of her husband. She died in this city in the year 1824; and never was a wife more sincerely or deeply mourned by her husband, than she was, down to the last week of his life, by her surviving partner.[22]

To turn, once more, to Dunlap, who relished a good story and heartily disliked Trumbull, we learn:

> J. [James] F. [Fenimore] Cooper called on me. He gave me the most rational account of Trumbulls mysterious marriage that I have heard. He says that 7 or 8 years ago, he dined in a company of Gentlemen among whom was my former (perhaps my present) friend Wm Johnson & an English Gentleman. The latter when it happen'd that Trumbull & wife were the subjects of conversation, told this story. There was an old gentleman, formerly a military man, Col[l] or Gen[l] Williams, who had a young Wife, with whom Trumbull became too intimate. Finally Williams had intimation that the lovers intended to elope, either *that*, or knowledge of the shame inflicted on him, induced him to have an interview with the seducer of his wife for a settlement. He told him that he knew of his situation with Mrs. W. & her preference, that he wished to avoid public scandal; and therefore, offered Trumbull the lady & 800£

Westminster-Hall, in full Parliament assembled, . . . Days of April: 16 GEORGE III, A.D. 1776."

[22] *NYHS Proceedings 1843*, 120.

per year during her life, if he would take her, & to save appearances, marry her. This was accordingly done. Mr. Johnson afterwards said to Cooper, this is a strange story and it reminds me of a circumstance confirmatory. Walking in Company with my Wife Mr. & Mrs Trumbull & an English gentleman & lady, the latter preceded him & Mrs. Johnson & Mrs Trumbull. Trumbull was with the English folks, & they were talking of acquaintances in London. Suddenly Trumbull looked back & said "Do you hear that Mrs. W.?" and correcting himself added "Mrs.. Trumbull." It has often been suggested that Trumbull received this woman from her keeper with an annuity. This is something like it & more probable.[23]

This dinner-party conversation was recorded by the far-from-reliable historian, artist, and dramatist thirty-four years after the marriage in question. But, in all fairness to Dunlap, it should be remembered that his private *Diary* was not written for publication. In his *Arts of Design* he observed: "There is every reason to suppose that Mr. Trumbull meant to make England his home. His wife was an Englishwoman, and his only son an officer in the English army; but Mr. Trumbull returned to the United States, bringing Mrs. Trumbull with him, in June 1804."[24] There is not even a hint in this of the illegitimacy of the Colonel's son, John Trumbull Ray. As to Williams and "Mrs. W." Dunlap might have been confused. Before he left England Trumbull wrote to his brother-in-law, William Williams of Lebanon, a Signer of the Declaration of Independence, on 16 July 1803:

I shall have the pleasure of shewing you your new Sister whose Portrait you are pleased with. . . . Her maiden name was *Hope*. Her Father was a younger son of an old Scotch Family, but Her Mother an English woman of the name of *West;* both her Parents are long since dead, as well as all her near relatives; so that she has no reluctance to go to America, arising from family separation, which I consider as a very happy circumstance. I hope She will find in my Relations a substitute for

[23] *Diary,* for 4 July 1834, III: 800–801. This possibly refers to Gen. Henry Williams, *c.* 1765–1845, as, according to the Army Lists, no other Williams reached a rank higher than that of lieutenant colonel from 1790 to 1800. This Williams was major and lieutenant colonel in 1794, colonel 1800, major general 1808, lieutenant general 1813, and general 1830. The General's residence, at the time of his death, was at Chalk Farm, near Bromley, Kent, about seven miles from London. Little credence should be given this account.

[24] *Arts of Design,* II: 49.

those of her own Blood—unfortunately we have no appearance of any addition to our Family.[25]

It is remotely possible that Dunlap's "W" came from the name West. Let us be charitable.

Shortly after landing, Trumbull received a letter from his old friend, Gen. David Humphreys, written from Boston on 14 July 1804:

I congratulate you sincerely on your return to your native land, and hope Mrs. Trumbull will find her adopted Country in every respect grateful & agreeable to her. In the wish for both of your happiness Mrs. Humphreys unites with me, being particularly desirous of forming & cultivating an acquaintance. I am, without any compliment, truly rejoicing at your arrival & sincerely desirous of knowing where it is most probable you will fix your habitation. Formerly, I imagined, Boston was your choice. Lately, we are told, you will be more likely to decide in favor of New York. I think, my being in the neighborhood of your family, would be an inducement for me & mine to remain, at least, something longer in an Hemisphere which has less to boast in point of Society, than in every thing else. I reserve myself to say a great deal, on this & other Subjects, when we shall have the pleasure of meeting. Do you remember the last evening which we spent together (at Havre in France) & some of the topics on which we then conversed? They are present to my mind, as if the affair of yesterday.[26]

The Trumbull family called on the couple shortly after they were settled. Mrs. Henry Hudson wrote her mother, the Colonel's sister-in-law, Mrs. Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, from New York on 4 November 1804:

We called immediately on our arrival yesterday to see Uncle and Aunt Trumbull, they are hardly settled yet but appeared very glad to see us, their house is already in tolerable order and looks very well. Uncle has painted one picture and says they have both been extremely busy. Aunt really shows to great advantage in her own house—she is in excellent humour and spirits, treats us with a vast deal of affection and offered of her own accord to assist me to the best of her abilities in all the purchases I wished to make. . . . They insisted upon our taking tea with them yesterday and we have dined there again today.[27]

[25] Ms., New-York Historical Society.
[26] Ms., Boston Public Library.
[27] Letter in the possession of Miss Maria Trumbull Dana of New Haven.

All did not go well for the super-sensitive colonel and the uneducated, mysterious Sarah during their four-year stay in America. There was some sort of *contretemps* with the Daniel Wadsworths of Hartford. The Colonel wrote to his niece, Mrs. Wadsworth,[28] from New York on 13 December 1806, a letter which, though petty, gives some indication of the new strained feelings then existing in the immediate family circle:

I enclose to my niece, a Letter from my Wife, of which I have only to say that it is written by my advice, & with my approbation.

You must permit me to add a few words for myself, on the same Subject.

I married at the age of Forty-five, in a Country where I had resided Twenty years,—where of course I knew & was known,—at a moment when from my official situation, *Indiscretion* in my conduct must have produced a termination of the Business with which I was charged, very different from the amicable & honorable one which took place.—under these circumstances I really thought myself capable of choosing a wife, and felt under no obligation to consult any one, on a subject which interested me alone—unless anyone could feel a mercenary interest in the change of my condition, which, had I believed, would have exposed them to my contempt.

I had been in the habit of considering myself a favorite with some branches of the Family, on a friendly footing with all, and the hope of enjoying increased satisfaction in their Society was one great motive which determined me to return to this Country. I trusted to the multiplied assurances of undiminished Esteem, which were in my possession, that the woman of my choice, my best friend, my Wife, would have been received affectionately for my sake. I flattered her with high hopes on that subject & consoled her in parting from her country & friends, with the prospect of finding as delightful a Country, & friends as cordial as those whom She was to leave behind. I have not been altogether disappointed in my hopes. Yet, I cannot say that I found in Boston particularly where I thought I had most reason to expect it, that cordiality of reception either for my wife or myself that I had hoped:—some other little things occurred early, which were painful, but which I thought it wise to overlook.

Even the decisive event at Stafford, we could have forgotten, if anything had been said or done in proper time, to sooth the painful feelings which were excited:—We had parted with Mr. Wadsworth and yourself in the most friendly manner:—on our arrival at Stafford we suffered the

[28] Faith Trumbull, eldest daughter of Jonathan Trumbull Junior.

usual inconveniencies of those who arrive last. Previous to your coming, two good rooms became vacant; we secured the *best* for you, took the *second best* for ourselves; and when we had the pleasure to see the Governor of your party, we gave up our room to him, & contented ourselves with one of the worst in the House—in this we meant to evince Affection and Respect, not meanness or Servility.———this was the first occasion on which my wife had been seen at any public place in the company of my Family, it was naturally a moment of anxiety to her:—the conduct of the world towards a Stranger is generally regulated by what they observe of the behaviour of those most intimately connected:—She hoped that kindness and affection on your part would confirm the politeness & respect with which she had been treated previously to your arrival—She dreaded the contrary effect from any appearance of neglect. I left her surrounded by my friends & went to attend to the workmen—on my return the party was dispersed, and I found her alone in our room, where there was not even a chair, sitting upon one of our trunks, in Tears.

The cause, you may be assured, was severely felt by me, as well as by her. I consoled her as well as I was able and, to do away any impression which might be made upon Strangers, by the apparent neglect of my Family, as well as to show them my marked but silent disapprobation of their conduct, I begged her to walk with me. The night was to me as well as to her a painful one, I endeavord to persuade myself as well as her that what had taken place was accidental, & would be explained in the morning;—You remember how it was explained—how instead of expressions of regret at having unintentionally given pain, I heard only accusations & complaints—from that day to this not a word has been said to heal the wound. On the contrary Mr. Wadsworth is said to have made use of an expression, which if he ever did use, *I pity him.*

When we saw you at Norwich, I heard of no invitation from you except one which, upon my return to the Company after the Gov^{r} and yourself had taken leave, was delivered to me by Mrs. Lanman. I doubt not accurately, it was "That Mrs. W. hoped She should see uncle and aunt at *Lebanon* before She left it:"—under these circumstances can you be surprised that we did not visit you at Hartford.

When at the Altar, & in the presence of the Almighty I promised to love & protect the woman of my choice, I felt the Solemnity of the engagements—the coldness of friends is one of the contingencies which peculiarly claim the fulfillment of that sacred promise—and I shall fulfill it—I know her Virtues and I reverence them, and should the absurdity, the pride or the caprice of others render it necessary, I can obey the Command which requires a husband to leave Parents & Friends, & cleave to his Wife.

Far be it from us however to suffer our feelings to mislead us:—as we never have, so we never will intentionally either injure or insult your

Husband or yourself. We shall always remember with pleasure the kindness of Mrs. Wadsworth[29] & Mrs. Terry,[30] but we cannot forget the unkindness of those whom we thought our friends.[31]

The turn of events is further illustrated by a letter from Jonathan Trumbull, Junior, to his brother John, dated 25 January 1808:

> . . . you will suffer me to observe that I was grieved to notice the State of Mind with which you express yourself respecting the reception you have met among your Relatives and friends since your last return from Europe, and the Estimation in which you seem to think you are now held by them. . . . Since your last return to them you have not viewed your friends with the same cheerful Eyes you used to do. . . . I do not wish to cherish disagreeable subjects, nor to enter into details of imaginary Injuries, or unfounded Jealousies. . . .[32]

In 1808, while living in New York, Trumbull tried, through his friend, DeWitt Clinton, to obtain nationalization papers for his wife, "Sarah Trumbull," from the State Legislature, saying that she had been a resident of the State for nearly five years.[33] Trumbull wrote to John Cotton Smith from London[34] asking that a special bill be passed for Sarah's citizenship because his lands in the Genesee could not be willed to her if an alien. No notice of the first request was taken in the session for 1809; in that of 1810 it was rejected. Trumbull excused the near-treasonable action of his American-born, illegitimate son, John Trumbull Ray, in joining the British Army during the War of 1812, by the treatment that the boy's "aunt" had received by the New York State legislature.

The four-year New York experiment came to a close late in 1808. The Jeffersonian Embargo and the general business depression were the possible causes for the lack of the many hoped-for portrait commissions—though the Colonel was far from idle.

[29] Mrs. Jeremiah (Mehitable Russell) Wadsworth.
[30] Mrs. Nathaniel (Catherine Wadsworth) Terry, daughter of Jeremiah and sister of Daniel Wadsworth.
[31] Ms., Yale Library.
[32] Ms., Connecticut State Library, Hartford.
[33] See letter dated 14 December 1808, Yale Library.
[34] Ms., Yale Library.

His wife was certainly anything but a help in securing desired sitters. Rufus King wrote to George Hammond, who had served as British Peace Commissioner, from New York on 12 December 1808:

> Col. Trumbull, whom you will probably recollect, is the bearer of this letter; he is going with his wife to England and may there resume his profession. Having lived in friendship with this gentleman for a great many years, I can with confidence introduce him to you, as a gentleman of distinguished probity and honour. Going directly from hence, he is enabled to speak with knowledge concerning the course and condition of our affairs as connected with those of Europe.[35]

How things were going for him in England, so far as his family relations were concerned, is indicated in a letter from the Colonel to Jabez Huntington of Norwich, Connecticut, dated London, 10 July 1812: "The Silence of every branch of my family for nearly four years (except one short letter from my brother) leaves me to suppose that I am quite excommunicated by them."[36]

Time must have hung heavily on the Colonel. Portrait commissions, naturally, did not fall his way during this period of strained international relations, resulting in the War of 1812. The ex-rebel officer found himself a second time in the camp of the enemy during wartime. Official permission was requested—the enemy-alien had to report his movements to the government—and received, to quit London for the pleasant surroundings of Bath. There the artist painted a few landscapes and a portrait of a new friend, James Hewlett (1789–1836), the eminent floral painter. The socially isolated Sarah probably took lessons of this celebrated artist, for some years later, in America, she exhibited several "fruit and flower" pictures.[37]

[35] *Life and Correspondence of Rufus King*, Charles R. King (ed.), 6 vols. (New York; G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1894–1900), V: 123.

[36] Ms., New-York Historical Society.

[37] At the American Academy of the Fine Arts, New York, of which her husband was President; in 1816, No. 165, and 1817, No. 205; and at the 7th Annual Exhibition of the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, Philadelphia, in 1818, No. 190. The Colonel's friend, Thomas Sully, was instrumental in arranging the latter; see his letter to Trumbull of 12 May 1818 at the Bland Gallery, Inc., New York.

To make up for the dearth of commissions the restless, officially restrained colonel painted his wife's portrait and even posed for himself.[38] He painted his wife somewhat in the spirit of a Lady Hamilton portrait, as "Sensitivity" and "Innocence."[39] In desperation he even copied portraits after the Old Masters.[40] Some of Trumbull's dullest religious and literary compositions, too, date from this period.[41] His beautiful wife was a handy model.

America to the exiled couple must have looked increasingly attractive. The Colonel sounded out his old friend, Rufus King, as to the possible reception of his wife. That statesman wrote him on 25 December 1812:

> . . . I am quite sure, that both you and Mrs. Trumbull would be kindly received by all your former acquaintances, and I cannot avoid remarking, that you will ascribe greater importance to that incident than it really merits, should you be restrained by it, from revisiting your old and faithful friends in this Country.[42]

Still it was a long time before official permission to quit England was received. The Trumbulls took the first passage available. They sailed on board the "Illinois, Captain Noyes" on the 18th of August 1815, with a vast amount of luggage—21 trunks, 9 boxes, and 4 crates—leaving England forever.

Settled, once again, at New York, Sarah, poor lonely girl, respected and loved by few other than her husband, became a dipsomaniac. Such are typical records: "Mrs. Col. Trumbull

[38] This handsome pair of portraits are the property of Marshall Hill Clyde of Geneva, Switzerland. See Jean Brockway, "Portrait of an Artist's Wife: Mrs. John Trumbull," *Antiques*, XXXIV, November 1938, pp. 250–252.

[39] The first is the property of Miss Marion Cruger Coffin of New Haven, and the second is at Yale. In all he painted his wife at least a dozen times.

[40] Such as the "Gervartius" after Sir Anthony Van Dyck, now at The New-York Historical Society, and the "Duchess of Cleveland" after Sir Peter Lely, now lost.

[41] "Susannah and the Elders" (now lost) painted at this time, must have appealed to him as subject matter. "Now Susanna was a very delicate woman and beauteous to behold" (*Apocrypha*, History of Susanna, 31), as was Sarah, his wife. It is somewhat amusing, in the light of all of the gossip which existed about Sarah's past, that he used her for the woman in "Christ and the Woman taken in Adultery" (John 8: 3–12). This large, dull canvas is now at Yale with many other religious works by the biblically trained and Bible-reading artist.

[42] Ms., New-York Historical Society.

was at one of the assemblies. She was irregularly dressed and looked like a washwoman. She was so drunk at Mrs. Primes party that they were obliged to carry her home."[43]

Scattered through the Rufus King-Christopher Gore correspondence there are many references to the unhappy Sarah. King, describing a ball given by the French Ambassador, wrote his friend on 19 February 1817:

After standing and walking from room to room till I was tired, I saw a vacant chair in a corner, where I placed myself next to Monsr. Correa, the Portuguese Minister. We were engaged in conversation when of a sudden I observed Col. & Mrs. T. (rumbull) coming towards me. When near she quitted her husband's arm, and sallying towards me, almost tumbled into my arms, but by good fortune brought up on an empty chair on my right. She immediately began in expressions of joy on having found me; told me how she esteemed me, hoped I was her friend and her husband's friend; and under pretence of a low conversation put her mouth to my ear. Correa expressed in his countenance admiration, and all who passed halted to observe our tete-a-tete. Just now the ladies finished a cotillion, and were looking for seats; I availed myself of the occasion and escaped into the crowd, leaving the lady alongside Mr. Ambassador. Mr. Otis, who with his family were guests, happening to appear, she made out to rise and take hold of him beginning, as with me, to declare her esteem for him, and invoking his friendship for her. "How does Mr. Gore do, is he any better, and Mrs. Gore, she I hope is well? he is one of my best friends, he is my father, he gave me to my husband, Oh, how much I love him; he is my husband's friend, and I love him even more for that, than for anything else." Mr. O. contrived to get clear. When advancing into the middle of the room Mrs. T. met Mrs. Fromentin, no small obstacle to her progress; they stood face to face, and Mrs. F, looking at Mrs. T, the latter exclaimed, pretty audibly, what do you see, what do you look at me for; what are you staring at? Mrs. F. made no reply but turning aside met Mr. Crawford, who asked her who Mrs. T. was; instead of answering, Mrs. F. replied there is her husband, pointing to Col. T. Like a tigress she immediately turned on Crawford and what business have you with my husband, what are you looking at him for? what is it to you that he is my husband? Crawford & Mrs. Fromentin turned their backs, and soon became separated from the en-

[43] Letter from Edward Fenno, son of John Fenno, the proprietor and editor of the *Gazette of the United States*, to his sister, Eliza Fenno (Mrs. Gulian Crommelin Verplanck, wife of the Colonel's friend), dated New York, 14 February 1816. I am indebted to Willian C. Kiessel of Bergenfield, N. J., who is engaged in writing the life of John Fenno, 1751–1798, for permission to quote from this letter, and to Dr. J. Hall Pleasants of Baltimore who brought it to my attention.

raged woman. Supper was announced, I went up stairs and as the Col & Mrs T did not appear at the supper, I concluded that he carried her off before we came down, as I saw no more of them. This morning I saw the Col. on some business, he looked as usual without any expression of mortification in his countenance. I had thought I would try to muster up fortitude to tell him freely how much his own character suffered by this scandalous conduct of his wife, but his amiable countenance and polite manners joined to the uncertainity how such a communication wd. be recd., discouraged me; and we parted as usual, except that I could not bring myself to make the usual enquiry concerning his wife. Her conduct at the Bagots was terrible, but I had heard that she behaved strangely at Mrs Madison's; the conduct last evening will be certain to exclude her from all further civilities here. Farewell.[44]

At New Haven the same story was repeated. Mrs. Benjamin Silliman wrote to her sister Faith (Mrs. Daniel Wadsworth of Hartford) on 15 August 1823: we "took a carriage and called at Uncle Trumbull's. . . . I was received with great kindness by Uncle, and treated by his wife in her best manner, tho she looked very bad and had evidently been indulging too much."[45] The same unfortunate circumstances were reported by Margaret Fuller:

. . . before they entered the dining room they met an old friend, Colonel Trumbull, whom they naturally invited to sup with them. The Colonel hesitatingly informed them that he was married and of course they invited his wife as well. Mrs. Trumbull's appearance accounted for her husband's hesitation. Her coarse and imperious expression reflected her low habits of mind, and her exaggerated dress and gesture betrayed her lack of education. At dinner Mrs. Trumbull drank glass after glass of wine and became abusive. Colonel Trumbull asked his host to forgive him. He had married, he explained, to atone for a sin.[46]

Poor Sarah had at least two good friends, Mrs. Rufus (Mary Alsop) King, and her husband. When Mrs. King died the Colonel wrote on 5 June 1819: "To Mrs. Trumbull in particular her kindness was uniform and invaluable, and her regret for the loss of her first and best American friend will be deep and lasting."[47]

[44] *The Life and Correspondence of Rufus King, op. cit.*, VI: 57–59.

[45] Letter in the possession of Miss Maria Trumbull Dana.

[46] Madeleine Bettina Stern, *The Life of Margaret Fuller* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., Inc., 1942), 273.

[47] Rufus King Papers, New-York Historical Society.

SARAH'S LAST MOMENTS: A DEATHBED PORTRAIT BY HER HUSBAND

Courtesy of Joseph Lanman Richards, New London, Conn.

Only once, so far as this writer knows, did the Colonel complain about his wife, who, for obvious reasons, was kept quietly at home as much as possible. From London on 2 June 1810 he wrote to his intimate, Rufus King, about the "Idiocy, as well as wickedness of [certain] Federalists" and his momentary expectation of "the confiscation of all American property" by Bonaparte. "I fear no remedy but the blood-letting and Straight waistcoat of Despotism." In a fit of spleen he closed his letter with these words: "I am disgusted, my friend, sick of my Country, *Sick of my Family*, sick of Human Nature. My poor, banished, persecuted, insulted *ill tempered* Wife (curse the Scoundrel) joins in wishing health & happiness to you & yours."[48]

[48] *Ibid.*

Marriage has been characterized as "a state of silent desperation." Perhaps it was in this case. "In any human association," wrote Professor Keller of Yale, "there is sure to be an interest-conflict more or less successfully reduced to the harmony of antagonistic cooperation."[49]

Mrs. Trumbull died at New York on 12 April 1824. Her husband painted her on her death bed![50] The attending physician was the Colonel's old friend, Dr. David Hosack,[51] the chief backer of the American Academy of the Fine Arts, of which Trumbull was President for nineteen long years.[52] Another old friend, the Rev. Jonathan Mayhew Wainwright,[53] was the clergyman. A note[54] in the Colonel's hand gives the pallbearers as: "Peter Lanman, Mr. Charles Wilkes, Mr. Moses Rogers, Mr. Buchanan, the British Consul, Mr. I. B. Coles, and Mr. Theodore Dwight. Mr. Bronson and Benj. Huntington, if either of the above named gentlemen should not have it in his power to attend I could wish Mr. C. D. Colden and Col. Fish."[55] Ten years later

[49] A. G. Keller, *Man's Rough Road* (New York and New Haven: Frederick A. Stokes Co., Yale University Press, 1932), 321.

[50] The property of Joseph Lanman Richards of New London, Conn., illustrated, in Sizer, *The Works of Colonel John Trumbull, Artist of the American Revolution* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), plate 29. Besides the many portraits by her husband there is a miniature by the Colonel's friend, Elkanah Tisdale of Lebanon, Conn., painted at New York in the 1820's, owned by the Misses Trumbull of Norwich Town, Conn.

[51] 1769–1835. His portrait by Trumbull, painted at New York in 1806, hangs in the New York Hospital, of which Dr. Hosack was Attending Physician. The doctor's wife, Mary, died eight days later.

[52] See Sizer, "American Academy of the Fine Arts" in *American Academy of Fine Arts and American Art-Union, Exhibition Record 1816–1852*, comp. by Mary Bartlett Cowdrey, 2 vols. (New York: The New-York Historical Society, 1952), I: xvii–cviii.

[53] 1792–1854, Episcopal minister and later bishop. Trumbull's portrait of him, painted at this time, is at the New Britain Institute, New Britain, Conn.

[54] Ms., Yale Library.

[55] Peter Lanman, 1771–1854, merchant of Norwich, Conn., husband of Abigail Trumbull, the daughter of David Trumbull, the artist's brother. The Colonel painted Mr. and Mrs. Lanman in 1828; portraits at Yale.

Charles Wilkes, *c.* 1764–1833, President of the Bank of New York and a member and supporter of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

Moses Rogers, 1750–1825, was a New York merchant. His portrait, painted by Trumbull in 1806, belongs to Mrs. H. Schuyler Cammann of Syossett, Long Island, N. Y.

James Buchanan, 1772–1851, British Counsul at New York, instrumental (in 1821)

her body was removed by her husband to a vault prepared under his direction beneath the Trumbull Gallery at Yale College.[50] It has been twice moved since and now lies—permanently, it is to be hoped—beside that of her devoted husband, "at the feet of his master," below his great portrait of Washington. May her soul rest in peace.

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in the removal of Major André's remains from the scene of his hanging (in 1780) at Tappan, N. Y. to Westminster Abbey. Trumbull designed the sarcophagus. See Sizer, "The Perfect Pendant, Major André and Colonel Trumbull," *The New-York Historical Society Quarterly,* XXXV, October 1951, pp. 400–404.

John Butler Coles, 1760–1827, a New York merchant. Trumbull painted his portrait, now owned by John Knapp Hollins of Beaufort, S. C., about 1816.

Probably Theodore Dwight, Senior, 1764–1846, lawyer, editor, and author, brother of the Rev. Timothy Dwight, President of Yale College. Trumbull painted his portrait, now lost, in 1828 at New York. His son, Theodore Dwight, Junior, 1796–1866, whose portrait was painted at the same time (now the property of the Misses Ferris of Bronxville, N. Y.), was Trumbull's man of business for the sale of the engravings after his historical paintings.

Isaac I. Bronson, *c.* 1759–1838, office 34 Wall St., residence 12 Park Place.

Benjamin Huntington, 1777–1850, son of Gen. Jedediah Huntington of Norwich, Conn. (whom Trumbull painted *c.* 1790) and Faith Trumbull, the artist's sister. Banjamin Huntington married Faith Trumbull Huntington; their son, Daniel Huntington, 1816–1906, was the portrait painter.

Caldwallader David Colden, 1769–1834, lawyer, former Mayor of New York, Director of the American Academy of the Fine Arts.

Col. Nicholas Fish, 1758–1833. Revolutionary officer, prominent citizen, resident of New York.

The *New-York American* for Monday Evening, 12 April 1824, carried the notice (undoubtedly written by the colonel himself) under "Deaths": "This morning, in the humble hope of a happy immortality, through the merits of the blessed redeemer, Sarah, wife of Col. John Trumbull, in the 51st year of her age. 'Blessed are the dead, who die in the Lord, for they rest from their Labours.' The friends of the family are requested to attend the funeral from No. 27 Park-Place, at 5 o'clock to-morrow afternoon." This was followed on the next day, Tuesday: "In announcing yesterday the death of Mrs. Trumbull, an error occurred, as [to] the day of interment. The funeral will take place *to-morrow,* Wednesday, at 5 o'clock, instead of to-day as announced by mistake." *The New-York Evening Post* for 12 April carried the same notice, except for "the funeral . . . on Wednesday afternoon."

The funeral costs amounted to $40.

[50] "There was never a less monastic age than the eighteenth century in England, yet two of its most fashionable places for burial were abbeys. Westminster Abbey and Bath Abbey are glutted with the classical sculpture and mortuary tablets of the Georgian period, marking the graves of politicians, warriors, and gay ladies who would have scandalized the pious builders of those minsters."—Warren Hunting Smith, *Originals Abroad, The Foreign Careers of Some Eighteenth Century Britains* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1952), 13. Much the same motivating force was, possibly, operative with Trumbull, long familiar with both abbeys. It was he who conceived the idea of being buried, beside his wife, who predeceased him by nineteen years, beneath the Trumbull Gallery.—See Sizer, "The Reinterments of Colonel Trumbull," Walpole Society *Note Book,* 1948, pp. 30–37.

JOSEPH DUDLEY (1647–1720) WHO PRESIDED AT LEISLER'S TRIAL

First Chief Justice, 1691–1692, of the Province of New York
Governor of Massachusetts, 1702–1715
By an unknown English artist *c.* 1693+

Courtesy Robert C. Vose, Boston

RECORDS OF THE TRIALS OF JACOB LEISLER AND HIS ASSOCIATES†

Edited by LAWRENCE H. LEDER*

WHEN JAMES II was forced to abandon the throne of England by William of Orange in late 1688, a reaction was set off in the colony of New York which was to continue for several years. New York, at that time, had only recently been placed under the government of a new entity—the Dominion of New England. With the fall of James II, the Dominion

* Mr. Leder, an instructor in history at New York University, is the author of "Jacob Leisler and the New York Rebellion of 1689–1691" of which he has deposited a 158-page typescript in the library of this Society together with photostats of the L. C. Reproductions of the records published herein.

† The New-York Historical Society is happy to have this opportunity of filling an awkward gap in the published record of colonial New York's most controversial governor and of adding important source material for the interpretation of a significant and tumultuous period of our early history. The trial and execution of Jacob Leisler was called "judicial murder" and kept the Province in political turmoil for nearly two decades. Yet "of the actual proceedings on that occasion," historians have complained, "but little can now be ascertained." (See, for instance, Chandler's *American Criminal Trials*, 1841, and Lawson's *American State Trials*, 1918.) The New-York Historical Society has done much to exhume and publish the record of Leisler's administration and its aftermath. More than a hundred years ago it prevailed upon the State legislature to underwrite the transcriptions and publications resulting in the four-volume *Documentary History of New-York* and the fifteen-volume *Documents Relating to the Colonial History of the State of New-York* which contain so many of the Leisler papers and collateral documents. John Romeyn Brodhead, who supervised the transcriptions in the public archives of England, reported to Governor Wright in 1845 that his work had "been greatly strengthened and fostered by the exertions of the New-York Historical Society"; even so, and despite the intercession of President Tyler through Edward Everett, his minister at the Court of St. James, Brodhead failed to obtain Foreign Office approval to transcribe the records of the Leisler trials, and they have remained unpublished to this day. Again the Society in its *Collections for the Year 1868*, the first volume of its present series, published two hundred pages of additional "Documents Relating to the Administration of Leisler," but among them the records of the trials were conspicuous by their absence. In the same series the Society is currently publishing and will soon have ready for distribution three volumes on the *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691–1704* wherein is still further amplified the impact of Leisler upon his times, beginning at the first session of that court with prosecutions of a score of Leisler adherents for riot and treason and including the trial in 1702 of Leisler's principal enemy, Nicholas Bayard, for high treason under a law he had himself secured a decade earlier to suppress the Leislerian party now prosecuting him. A full report of the Bayard trial is available in several editions (New York 1702, London 1703 [British] *State Trials* 1816, *American State Trials*

disintegrated.[1] This left New York without a legal government, although Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson and three of the councillors of the Dominion remained in New York City. These four men were not generally accepted by the people of the city, and events soon served to destroy whatever effectiveness they might have had. Into this void in May 1689 there stepped a Committee of Safety which included among its membership men such as Peter Delanoy, Samuel Edsall, Abraham Gouverneur, Thomas Williams, Gerardus Beekman, and Mindert Coerteen, as well as several others.[2] Once this committee had assumed the responsibility of government, it elected first as Captain of the Fort then as Commander in Chief of the colony one Jacob Leisler, a well-to-do merchant of New York City.[3]

These men, under Leisler, conducted the governmental affairs of the colony for the six months beginning with June 1689. In December of that year, however, a change took place in the government of the colony. A courier arrived from England, bearing two letters from the King addressed to Lieutenant Governor Francis Nicholson or ". . . in his absence to such as for the time being take care for preserving the Peace and administring the Lawes in their Majestys Province of New York."[4] Since

1918—copies of all at the New-York Historical Society), but the Leisler trials excepting which Bayard would never have been brought to bar have remained in the realm of hearsay and conjecture. That record can now be completed—even to the awful wordage of the brutal sentence. Beyond its revelations respecting "the Leisler troubles" this record provides an insight into legal procedures and judicial processes at the dawn of our institutional life on this continent which few other trial records of the period afford in more completeness. The editor of this *Quarterly* is gratified that the Society can at last, through Mr. Leder's transcripts, print these documents for scholarly use.—C. E. B.

[1] For a full study of the Dominion government, see Viola F. Barnes, *The Dominion of New England; A Study in British Colonial Policy* (New Haven: 1923), *passim.*

[2] For a complete list of the membership of the Committee of Safety, see J. W. Fortescue, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies* (London: 1860–1919), XIII: 126.

[3] Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *The Documentary History of the State of New York* (Albany: 1849), II: 11. (Hereafter cited as *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*) Leisler's commission as Captain of the Fort is dated June 8, 1689, and his commission as Commander in Chief, August 16, 1689.

[4] W. L. Grant and James Munro, eds., *Acts of the Privy Council of England, Colonial Series, 1613–1783* (London: 1908–12), II: 139.

Nicholson had left New York some months before and was actually already in England when the letters were dispatched, Leisler naturally assumed that, as Commander in Chief under commission from the Committee of Safety, he was the rightful recipient of them. He obtained them from the King's messenger on December 10, 1689, and found in them some very specific instructions. He was ordered ". . . to take upon you the Government of the said Province Calling to your assistance in ye administration thereof the Principal Freeholders and Inhabitants . . . or so many of them as you shall think fitt," and "to do & perform all things w^ch^ to the place & office of our Lieut Gov: . . . doth or may appertain . . . untill further order from us."[5] Leisler did just that; among those he called to his assistance were Peter Delanoy, Johannes Vermillie, Gerardus Beekman, Samuel Edsall, and Thomas Williams. Others who were closely associated with this new government in one capacity or another were Jacob Milborne (Leisler's son-in-law and aide), Abraham Brashier, Abraham Gouverneur, and Mindert Coerteen. For the remaining days of 1689, throughout 1690, and for two and a half months of 1691, Leisler, with the aid of his councillors, governed the Province accordingly as Lieutenant Governor.

The following summary description of the activities and tone of Leisler's administration, which goes far to explain the subsequent events recorded in the documents here for the first time printed, is taken from the study on the Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York now being published by the Society[6]:

[5] William III to Nicholson, etc., July 30, 1689, Edmund B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany: 1853–87), III: 606. (Hereafter cited as O'Callaghan, *Documents.*)

[6] Paul M. Hamlin and Charles E. Baker, *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York 1691-1704*, 3 vols. (The New-York Historical Society, 1952), I: 42–44. It should be noted, however, that while the Leisler administration was democratic in its policy, it did not engage in the activities mentioned above because of any preconceived theory of democracy entertained by Leisler or his aides. Leisler was a very pragmatic individual who used the most effective course available to him to gain his major objective the defense of the Colony of New York against the Jacobites and the French. Each of his actions can be traced to a particular aspect of that one problem that so dominated him. Leisler was also autocratic at times—when

The immediate effect of the 1689 Revolution in New York, so far as the Provincial Constitution was concerned, seems to have been a revival of the *status quo ante* as of 1685. Or, as Sir Edmund Andros's 1690 Report of His Administration puts it: "By the encouragem[t] and p[r]swasion of those in the Massachusetts the severall other provinces and collonys in New England as far as New Yorke have disunited themselves, and set up their former separate Charter, or popular governments without Charter . . . and they revived and confirmed their former laws contrary and repugnant to the laws and statutes of England, settled their Courts of Judicature, and appoynted new officers, and have p[r]sumed to try and judge all cases civill and criminall . . . they esteeming noe laws to be binding on them but what are made by themselves. . . ." . . . It is certain that after political power had passed into his hands, he [Leisler] voided the Dominion Act and reëstablished courts of oyer and terminer, of admiralty, of exchequer, and for the trial of small causes in the several counties, as provided for by Dongan.

In seizing power from the Andros-Jacobite appointees and governing the Province in the name of William and Mary, Leisler earned the animosity not only of the officers he displaced but of the rich and powerful in general, for he elevated to places of high trust many humble folk whom, until then, the aristocracy had regarded with contempt. His councilors, judges, and administrative officers had been craftsmen, shopkeepers, and members of the lowly professions:—cooper, baker, bricklayer, dram man, glazier, harbor pilot, physician, are some of the epithets their enemies hurled at them. The Leisler administration, moreover, was as democratic in its policy as in its composition: it reinstituted a representative legislative assembly for the Province; it broke the City's flour monopoly; it provided for the only popular election of a New York City mayor in all Colonial history; it reasserted the principal of no taxation without representation; and it allied itself with insurrectionary governments in other Colonies which were pursuing similar policies. In so doing, it trod on the toes of many prominent men of the Province who came to form the nucleus of a bitterly vindictive anti-Leislerian party, eventually able through powerful connections in England to win the key positions in a newly appointed administration to succeed Leisler's and to prejudice the Crown representatives even before they took office. King William, of whom it has been said that he tolerated no revolution not of his own making, showed little disposition to protect a democratic leader whose services, however signal during the turmoil of dynastic

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the assembly began to question certain of his actions, he immediately prorogued it (Leisler to Albany Commissioners, April 30, 1690, *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, II: 238). His autocratic attitude is also indicated in his relations with the Colony of Connecticut. But from the seeds sown by Leisler certain concepts did develop, and did form the overall pattern for the future political development of the Colony.

change, were already at an end. So the Leisler regime was to enjoy but a short span of life. Soon its head and his son-in-law Jacob Milborne were to be tried for high treason and all its acts and appointments voided as illegal.

Leisler's government was succeeded by that of Henry Sloughter who arrived from England on March 19, 1691. But because of his lateness in arriving in the colony, and because of the arrival of the two companies of royal foot troops two months earlier, troublesome times had come upon New York. With these troops there had arrived one Richard Ingoldesby as their commander. Immediately upon his arrival in New York City in January of 1691, he demanded that Leisler surrender the fort to him for the use of the royal troops. This Leisler refused to do because Ingoldesby could show him no order to that effect from either Governor Sloughter or the King. Desultory fighting broke out between the forces of Leisler and Ingoldesby just a few days before Sloughter arrived. When the new governor entered the city, he refused to acknowledge Leisler as his lawful predecessor or to exhibit his credentials to Leisler's officers and so was forced to demand the surrender of the fort three times before Leisler finally acceded on the morning of March 20th. Sloughter quickly ordered that Leisler and his associates be placed in custody and held for trial before a special Court of Oyer and Terminer.

The trials that were held as a result of Sloughter's order have never been adequately discussed, largely because the trial records, heretofore unprinted, have remained in manuscript in the British Public Record Office, for a long time apparently under official interdiction.[7] There are two sets of documents which tell the story of these trials: the "Proceedings," a day-to-day summary, forwarded to the Lords of Trade by Francis Nicholson after he became governor of Virginia,[8] and received by them

[7] The reasons behind the failure to secure these documents for the monumental publication of P. R. O. material relating to the Colony of New York are too detailed to be discussed here. There are some hints, however, in the introduction to that collection, O'Callaghan, *Documents*, I: xxii–xxxvi.

[8] In all probability, Sloughter or some member of his council forwarded a copy of

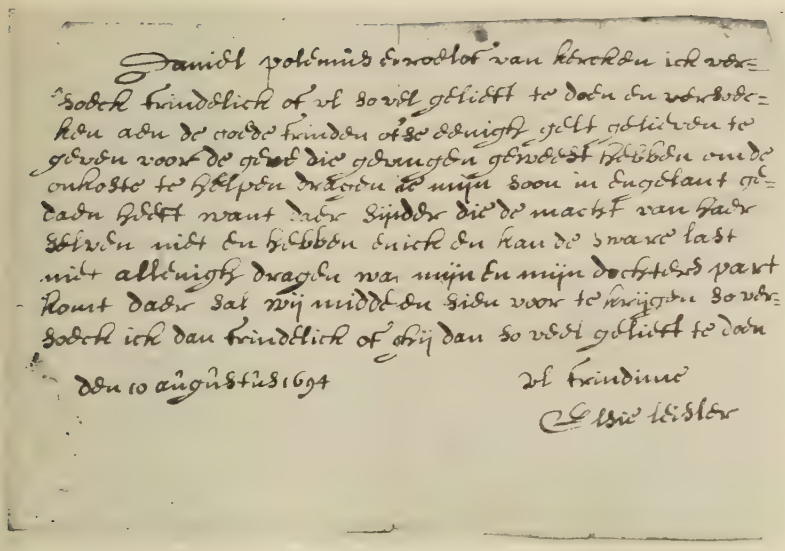
on September 10, 1691; and the enclosures forwarded with Sloughter's letter to Lord Nottingham on May 6, 1691. The latter includes the following: three "Rolls of the Tryall" and the commission to the judges of the Court of Oyer and Terminer. By a comparison of the "Proceedings" and the various "Rolls" we can obtain a fairly complete picture of the trials. It should be noted that each of the "Rolls" contains the indictment, the pleas of the defendants, the names of the jurors, their verdicts, and the sentences meted out to those adjudged guilty.

There were four major indictments handed down by the grand jury: one for murder against Jacob Leisler, Jacob Milborne, Peter Delanoy, Abraham Gouverneur, and Gerardus Beekman; one for treason against those same five men; one for treason against Mindert Coerteen, Thomas Williams, Johannes Vermillie, and Abraham Brashier; and one for treason against Samuel Edsall. "Rolls" exist for the first three indictments, but not for the fourth. Fortunately the case against Edsall is well covered in the "Proceedings," although we do not have a copy of the indictment against him.

There remains one major point, however, which should be clarified. Five men—those mentioned in the first two indictments—were charged with both murder and treason. From a study of the following records, it would appear that when any one of these men was convicted on one of the two charges he was not prosecuted on the other charge. This will clarify several apparent voids in the records themselves.

There are several minor inconsistencies between the accounts given in the various documents, but these have been indicated editorially within the documents themselves. Each of the records has been fully identified as to its location within the papers of the Public Record Office. Careful copies of these documents

the "Proceedings" to Nicholson who had a personal interest in this matter, having been forced to flee the colony of New York in 1689 by these same men. He, after having had the full gratification of learning the fate of his former enemies, probably forwarded the document to the Lords of Trade. While none of these surmises can be documented, the fact remains that the copy of the "Proceedings" in the British Public Record Office was received from Nicholson.



MRS. JACOB LEISLER'S REQUEST FOR AID FOR LEISLER'S ADHERENTS

ALS, August 10, 1694, gift of the Beekman Family Association, 1951

Of those who were condemned with Leisler or later prosecuted for their association with him, only Jacob Milborne, his son-in-law, was executed with him, the rest being reprieved pending the royal pleasure, remanded for trial in the Supreme Court, or their recognizances forfeited upon their failure to appear; but the estates of all whose guilt as found involved attainder were sequestered from themselves and heirs. After the execution, Jacob Leisler, Jr., and a few of his father's adherents, appeared in England to prevail upon the Queen to stay further prosecutions and upon Parliament to reverse the attainders. In both purposes they were eventually successful. It was to secure backing for this mission that Leisler's widow wrote (in Dutch) the letter which Dr. Cornelius D. Westbrook translated (Dec. 12, 1842) as follows:

To Daniel Polemus & Rodof Van Kercken.

I affectionately request you to be so good as to enquire of our good friends whether they feel disposed to contribute any money towards defraying the expenses incurred by my Son in England for the persons that have been taken prisoners. For there are some who have no ability of themselves and I cannot bear the heavy burden alone. We will make provision to procure what falls to mine and my daughter's share; I therefore affectionately beg you to be so good as to do so much for me.

I am dear Sirs
Your friend

The 10 August 1694 ELSIE LEISLER

were made before 1925 for the Library of Congress British Reproductions but, not being listed in the L. C. guide to that collection,[9] have remained as inaccessible as have the originals. These Reproductions were used in the preparation of this work. While a strenuous attempt has been made to preserve the original form, spelling, and punctuation, a few explanatory or corrective inserts have been made within brackets, as have the notations of the pagination of the original manuscripts.

[COMMISSION FOR THE COURT OF OYER AND TERMINER]

The speciall Commiĉon[10]

WILLIAM & MARY By the Grace of God of England Scotland france and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the faith &c To Our Trusty and welbeloved Joseph Dudley and Thomas Johnson Esqrs S^r^ Robert Robinson Kn^t^ Chidley Brooke[11] William Smith William Pinhorne John Laurence Esqrs Cap^t^ Gasper Hickes May^r^ Richard Ingoldesby Coll John Youngs & Captaine Isaac Arnold GREETING KNOW YEE That We have assigned you or any six of you whereof Either of you the said Joseph Dudley or Thomas Johnson we will to be one Our Justices to Inquire by the Oaths of good and Lawfull men of Our Citty & County of New yorke and by such Other wayes means and methods (which to you shall be better knowne) by whom the truth of the matter may be the better knowne Yee shall at Certaine dayes and places which you or any six of you whereof either of you the said Joseph Dudley or Thomas Johnson we will to be one for that purpose appoint of whatsoever Treasons Misprisions of treasons Insurrecc̃ons Rebellions Murders fellonyes Manslaughters Homicides Burglaryes Rapes Misprisions Confederacyes ffalse Reports Trespasses Riotts Routs unlawfull Assemblyes Contempts ffaults Negligencyes Concealments Oppressions Champertyes Deceits Misdemeanours and Other Misdeeds Offences & Injuryes whatsoever And alsoe the Accessaryes of them within the County aforesaid by whomsoever & howsoever had done perpetrated or Committed and by who or by whom to who or to whom when how and in what manner [p. 2]

[9] Grace Gardner Griffin, *A Guide to Manuscripts Relating to American History in British Depositories Reproduced for The Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress* (Washington, D. C.: the Library of Congress, 1946).

[10] British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 1082, no. 21 (a).

[11] Chidley Brooke was not listed along with the others as a member of this court in the New York Council Minutes of March 24, 1691, in *Doc. Hist. N. Y.*, II: 362. Governor Sloughter mentions only ten members of the court in his letter to Lord Nottingham, March 26, 1691, in O'Callaghan, *Documents*, III: 760.

And of Other Articles and Circumstances the p^r^misses Either or any of them concerning and the same Treasons Offences and oy^r^ the p^r^misses for this time to hear & Determine according to the Laws & Customes of Our Kingdome of England and of this Our Province of New yorke And WEE COMMAND you that at Certaine dayes and places which you or any six of you whereof Either of you the s^d^ Joseph Dudley or Thomas Johnson Wee Will to be One shall for that purpose appoint you diligently make inquiry upon the p^r^misses and all and singuler the premisses hear and Determine and doe and accomplish these things in forme abovesd which unto Justice appertaineth to be done thereupon according to the Laws and Customes of Our Kingdome of England and of Our Province of New yorke Saving unto Us Our Amerciaments and oy^r^ things to Us thereupon belonging Alsoe Wee Command Our Sherriffe Of Our Citty & County of New yorke that at Certaine dayes and places which you or any six of you whereof Either of you the s^d^ Joseph Dudley or Thomas Johnson We Will to be one shall make knowne unto him to Cause Come before you or any six of you whereof Either of you the s^d^ Joseph Dudley or Thomas Johnson We Will to be One such and soe many good and Lawfull men of his Bayliwyck by whom the truth of the Matter may be the better knowne & inquired into IN TESTIMONY Whereof We have Caused the seal of Our Province of New yorke to be hereunto affixed WITTNESSE Henry Sloughter Esqr Our Capt^n^ Generall & Govern^r^ in Cheife of Our s^d^ Province and the Territoryes Depending thereon in America at ffort William Henry the 26^th^ day of March in the 3^d^ year of Our Reigne.

H. Sloughter

By His Excyes Command
M. Clarkson Secry

[PROCEEDINGS OF THE TRIALS[12]]

Martis 31°: Martÿ ante Meridiem

The grand jurors called sworne & charged by Joseph Dudley Esqr then the wittnesses to two bills the one [for murder] ag^t^: Jacob Leisler Jacob Milbourne Peter D La Noy Abra: Governeur & Gerardus Beaken [Beekman] & the other [for treason] ag^t^: Jacob Leisler Jacob Milbourne Peter D La Noy & Abraham Governeur [and Gerardus Beekman[13]] sworne & the same bills sent to the grand Jurors who likewise desired a Copy of the Oath w^ch^ was sent them then the Court adjourned till 1 of Clock afternoone

[12] British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 1037, no. 4.

[13] Beekman was included in both indictments. See below, p. 453, for Beekman's arraignment on the charge of treason.

Post Meridiem

The Grand jurors were called and gave in the said bills indorsed billa Vera Whereupon Jacob Leisler was brought to the barr who prayed oyer of the com[missi]on w^ch^ was read and refusing to hold up his hand read a small paper offering that forasmuch as he had been in power here he ought not to plead till such time as that power was determined being told that if on his tryall he would offer to justifye the Indictm^t^: by such power it would p^r^perly come before this Court and be determined he says he is a Subject of the King and honours the Comic̄on where upon the opinion of the bench was asked w^ch^ was unanimous that whatsoever had been said was heard of grace and did in its selfe the most favourably accepted amount to noe plea in Law or ffact then the Kings Councell[14] moved for Judgm^t^: but the Court willing to give him all and more then of right priviledge could by him in his circumstances be allowed did offer him Councell w^ch^ he accepted and p^r^posed M^r^ Tuder who was assigned accordingly to attend the prisoner for some time and he was remanded.

Jacob Milbourne brought to the barr being indicted for treson & fellony pleads to the Jurisdiction of this Court as to himselfe which was overruled and then the said Milbourne arraigned on the other Indictment for murther to w^ch^ he pleads to the Jurisdiction and it is againe overruled & he refusing to plead over is acquainted with the danger of his refusall & remanded.

Abraham Governeur brought to the barr arraigned on an indictment for treason and fellony saith he acted by command from Jacob Leisler who by virtue of the Kings Letter exercised the Government here and untill it be determined whether said Leisler's authority was [p. 2] good or noe yett refuses to plead over prays Councell (to witt) M^r^ Tuder who is assigned is showne in Court by his Councell the Law book touching this case but desires some time to consult is then arraigned on the other Indictment for [murder and] fellony To which he prays that he may be admitted to advise w^th^ his said Councell before he plead and is remanded.

Peter D La Noy brought to the barr arraigned of the Indictment for treason and fellony to w^ch^ he pleads not guilty & putts himselfe on the Countrey then the said Peter was arraigned on another Indictm^t^: for murther and fellony to w^ch^ he pleads not guilty and putts himself upon the Countrey and is remanded.

Gerrardus Beakman brought to the barr arraigned on the Indictment for treason and fellony pleads not guilty, & putts himself on the Countrey then the said Gerrardus arraigned on another Indictment for murther

[14] The King's Counsel in this trial was George Farewell. See his bill for services rendered in this trial in the New York State Library (Albany), New York Colonial Manuscripts, XXXVII: 117–8.

and fellony To w^ch^ he pleads not guilty and putts himself on the Countrey & is remanded. Then the Court adjourned till 8 of the Clock to morrow morning.

Mercurij primo April ante Meridiem

The grand jurors called and some bills given them M^r^. Leisler brought to the barr & againe arraigned on the Indictment for treason the p^r^sident remembers him of the favour done him and advises him to plead who continues his generall talke refusing to plead and prays he may further advise w^th^ his Councell butt the Kings Councell prayed Judgm^t^. unlesse the prisoner will plead and he was ordered to be tyed up and putt in irons[15] in order to his suffering the Judgm^t^: of the Law to be given by this Court then the prisoner was arraigned on the other Indictment for murther to w^ch^ refusing to plead order'd to be in like manner secured in order to judgm^t^: and is remanded.

Abra: Governeur brought to the barr arraigned on the Indictm^t^: for murther and fellony of John al[ia]s Josias Browne pleads not guilty and putts himselfe on the Countrey is informed of his Challenges &c then the jurors called and sworne to the issue were———[p. 3]

John Barbarre
Simon Areno
Peter: Newkerk
Sam^ll^: Ver Planke
Joseph Davis
John Van Horne
Tho Milton
W^m^. Jackson
Geo: Rascarrett
Giles Shelly
Abra: Sandford
and John Rose

} Jurat

The Kings Councell opened the Indictment and went on to p[ro]ve it The Prisoner desires pen inke and paper w^ch^ is allowed him The Prisoner having made his defence the charge was given to the jurors and an officer sworne to keep them.

Then the grand jurors were called and delivered unto the Court the bills following To witt a bill ag^t^: Mindert Courten Tho: Williams Joh[ann]es Vemilie and Abra: Brazier for high treason A bill ag^t^. Joost

[15] This was the use of a modified version of the *peine forte et dure*, a medieval method of forcing a defendant to enter a plea to a felony indictment. It was a part of English Common Law.–Julius Goebel, Jr. and T. Raymond Naughton, *Law-Enforcement in Colonial New York: A Study in Criminal Procedure, 1644–1776* (New York: 1944), 581–2.

Stall Nicolas Blacke Garrett Duykins Albert Pottevin Hendrick Jansen Van Woorden W^m: Churcher Cornelis Pluvier W^m Laurence & John Coe for a Riot[16] which bills they had found whereupon the said p^rsons were brought to the barr & the Indictments read to them they were minded of the favour done them and that they [those indicted for riot] might have Councell on their tryall and in the meane time be bailed

The jurors charged with the Indictment of murther ag^t: Abra: Governeur returned to the Court & say that he is guilty of the murther and fellony whereof he stands indicted but knows not of any goods and Chattles &c the prisoner remanded.

The Court adjourned till one afternoone.

Post Meridiem

[p. 4] Peter D La Noy brought the barr informed of Challenges and the jury called and charged on the Indictment for murther

Simon Areno	Jurat
W^m: Beachman	
Peter Newkerk	
Sam: Verplanke	
[Dirck] Vandurburgh	
Jos: Davis	
John Vanhorne	
Tho Milton	
W^m: Jackson	
Geo: Rascarrett	
[Nathaniel Mattstone[17]]	
& John Rose	

The Charge given by Judge Dudley and the officer sworne to keep the jury.

The grand jurors bring into the Court a p^rsentment ag^t Robert Laycock and Jacobus Williamson for a Riot.[18]

Myndert Courten brought to the barr is arraigned on an Indictmen for high treason & pleads not guilty putts himself on the Countrey and i remanded.

The jurors charged with the Indictment for murther ag^t. Peter D La Noy returne and say that the prisoner is not guilty in manner and forme &c nor that he ffled.

[16] The records of the trials of these men will be found in Hamlin and Baker *Supreme Court of Judicature of the Province of New York, 1691–1704* (New-York Historical Society), II: 3–4, 6, 245–260, 268–270.

[17] See the "Rolls" below, p. 451.

[18] The records of the trials of these men will be found in the New York Historica Society *Collections* for 1944.

Tho: Williams indicted for treason brought to the barr and arraigned pleads not guilty and putts himself on his Countrey.

Abra: Brazier & Johes Vermilie brought to the barr and arraigned on an Indictment for high treason pleads severally to the said indictment not guilty and putts themselves on the Countrey they are remanded.

Jacob Milbourne again brought to the barr desires time till tomorrow to consider w^ch^ is granted he [is] remanded & y^e^ Court adjourned till to morrow & in the morning.

Jovis 2^do^ April

Jacob Milbourne brought to the barr offerrs that he [p. 5] conceives the bailment of divers p^r^sons committed by the same mittimus for the same fact gives him in the law the same priviledge is told from the bench that the jurors have p^r^sented them differently for a Riot w^ch^ by the law may be bailed and others for crimes unbailable of w^ch^ he is one and further the bailment of any p^r^son being designed for his ease till his tryall and of no other end he is now called to answer and cannot be bayled then he is arraigned on the indictment for high treason refuses to plead and in like manner on the other indictment for murther whereupon he is committed to the Sherr[iff] to be treated as the law directs before Judgm^t^:

Court adjourned till munday 8 in the morning

Luna 6^to^ April

Gerrard Beakman brought to the barr called to his Challenges prays time till afternoone and its granted by reason he alledges he hath witnesses to come to towne and is remanded.

Tho Williams brought to the barr called to his challenges.

Dennis Lambert	Jurat
Simon Areno	
W^m^: Beacham	
John Crooke foreman	
Tunis De Key	
Peter Newkeek	
Andreas [Greverod]	
Sam^ll^: Verplanke	
Dirick Vandurburgh	
John Van Horne	
Tho: Milton	
Nath: Marston	

M^r^. [William] Nicolls opens the indictment w^ch^. pv'd the prisoner denies generally the fact says he was a Counceller butt by p^r^swasion &c

GERARDUS BEEKMAN (1653–1723) SENTENCED WITH LEISLER

Reprieved and pardoned, he served as a member of the Governors' Councils from 1702 till his death and in 1709–1710 as Acting Governor of the Province.

Attributed to Evert Duyckinck III

In the possession of Dr. Fenwick Beekman

The jury charged a Constable sworne &c who return'd say that y^e^. prisoner att the bar is guilty of the treason & fellony of which he stands [p. 6] indicted noe goods or Chattells &c to their knowledg.

Post Meridiem

Gerrardus Beakman brought to the barr called to his challenges.

W^m^. Beacham Andreas Greverod Jos: Davis John Van Horne W^m^. Jackson Michaell Harding Gyles Shelly Abra: Sanford John Rose W^m^. Boyle foreman Daniell Butts John Wattson	Jurat

Attorney Generall [Thomas Newton] opens the indictment the jury charged a Constable sworne who returned say that the prisoner is guilty of the treason and fellony whereof he stands indicted no hands [*sic*] &c to their knowledge.

Court adjourned till Wednesday morning.

Mcurÿ 8^to^: April

Peter D La Noy brought to the barr offers that he conceives himself dismissed from any other Question having been accquitted by his Countrey for the murther is to[ld] he is now indicted for treason w^ch^. is a different crime the jurors called the prisoner minded of his Challenges

W^m^. Beacham Jos: Davis Abra: Sanford John Rose W^m^. Boyle foreman John Watson Simon Areno Sam: Verplanke Tho: Milton Tho: Burroughs W^m^. Jackson Michaell [Harding]	Jurat

[p. 7] The jurors go out and a Constable sworne to keep them in a quarter of an hour returne and say that the prisoner is [not][19] guilty of the treason and fellony whereof he stands indicted. Whereupon the prisoner is clear'd by p[r]clamaĉon

Abra: Brazier brought to the barr [for treason] informed of his Challenges The jurors called.

W[m]: Boyle	Jurat
W[m]: Beacham	
Jos: Davis	
W[m]: Jackson	
Michaell Harding	
Abra Sandford	
John Watson	
Simon Areno	
Sam: Verplanke	
Tho Milton	
Tho Burroughs	
Bernnardus Hardenburgh	

A Constable sworne to keep the jurors[20]

Mcur 15°: April

Muyndert [Coerteen] brought to the barr called to his Challenges.

W[m]. Beacham	Jurat
Jos: Davis	
Abra: Sanford	
W[m]. Boyle foreman	
John Watson	
Simon Areno	
Sam: Verplanke	
Tho: Milton	
Tho Burroughs	
John Eldridge	
Geo: Rascarrett	
An: ffarmer	

[p. 8] His Honour y[e]. p[r]sident gave the charge after after [*sic*] the Kings Counsell had opened and p[r]ved the Indictments who within halfe a quarter of an hour returne and say that the prisoner is guilty of the treason and fellony whereof he stands indicted No goods &c to their

[19] That the verdict was not guilty is confirmed by Rolls of the Trial of Leisler et al., for Treason, herein p. 00.

[20] The verdict in this trial is not given in the "Proceedings," but can be found in the "Rolls." See below, p. 456.

knowledge the prisoner remanded[.] on the Moc̄on of the Kings Councell for Judgment ag^{t} Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milbourne Jacob Leisler brought to the barr and remanded [*sic*] by the p^{r}sident that this Court had satt now a fortnight and att their first sitting downe the p^{r}sentm^{ts}. came before them from the grand jurors ag^{t}. him and others for high treason and murther on w^{ch} he hath beene twice arraigned but stands mute neverthelesse the Court will yett condescend to offer him once more an arraignment and being this time severally arraigned on the said Indictm^{ts}: he refuses to plead and is remanded.

Johes Vermilie brought to the barr called to his Challenges.

W^{m}. Beacham	Jurat
Jos: Davis	
Abra: Sandford	
W^{m}. Boyle foreman	
John Watson	
Simon Areno	
Sam: Verplanke	
Tho Milton	
Tho: Burroughs	
John Eldridge	
Geo: Rascarrett	
Anth: ffarmer	

The jurors receive their charge from M^{r}. p^{r}sident & after a quarter of an hour return and say that Joh[ann]es Vermilie is guilty of treason and fellony whereof he is indicted no goods &c.

[p. 9] Jacob Milbourne brought to the bar and informed in like manner as Jacob Leisler and that he will have the oppertunity to be once more arraigned w^{ch} is on two severall indictments the one for high treason the other for murther but refuses to plead and is remanded.

Court adjourned till four afternoone.

Post Meridiem

M^{r}. Edsall brought to the bar arraigned for high treason pleads not guilty called to his challenges.

W^{m}. Beacham	Jurat
Jos: Davis	
Abra Sandford	
W^{m}. Boyle	
John Watson	
Tho Burroughs	
Geo: Rascarrett	
Dennis Lambert	

Peter Newkerk
John Van Horne
Mich Harding

The jurors charged go out.

Content Titus order'd to attend the Mayor to morrow morning.

The Court having waited till after tenne of the clock and the jurors not agreed is adjourned till to-morrow tenne of the Clock in the morning.

Jovis 16^to^ Aprilis

The jurors bettweene their Ma^ties^. and Sam^ll^: Edsall not agreed two Constables more were sworne to keep them and the Court adjourned till four afternoone.

Post Meridiem

The jurors betweene the King and Queene & Sam^ll^: Edsall came into Court & say they are agreed of their Verdict & that the prisoner att the barr is not guilty of the treason and fellony of w^ch^ he stands indicted A moc̃on is made by the Kings Councell that he give [p. 10] good surety for his good behaviour for one year & day w^ch^ the Court will consider The Attorney moves that for as much as severall p^r^sons having Estates within severall Countyes in this province Writts may issue to the sherr[iffs] to take care of the same.

Court adjourned till to morrow 2 in the afternoon.

Veneris 17° April post meridiem

Jacob Leisler Jacob Milbourne Joh[ann]es Vermilie Abra: Governeur Mindert Coert [een] Tho: Williams Abra: Brazier & W^m^. Beakman brought to the barr p^r^clamac̃on made for silence The Kings Councell moves for Judgement The president says something p^r^fatory to Judgmt.

Jacob Leisler and Jacob Milbourne being asked if they had any thing to say why judgment of death should not pass upon them say that they conceive untill the King determine y^e^. power by w^ch^ they acted they should not answer.

Gerrard Beakman
Tho: Williams
Myndert Coert [een]
Joh[ann]es Vermilie
Abra: Brazier
& Abra: Governeur say what they did was for the welfare of the Province

Upon w^ch^ sentence of death passed upon the prisoners[21]

[21] The exact sentences pronounced against each of the men convicted during these trials will be found at the end of each of the "Rolls" which follow.

The Court dissolved.

[Endorsed:] N: York 1691
Proceedings against Leisler &c—
Rec[d]. 10 sept 1691
frõ Cap Nicholson
B[undle] A
p[aper] 5.

[ROLLS OF THE TRIAL OF LEISLER ET. AL. FOR MURDER][22]

Citty and County of N. Yorke ss. PLEAS held at the Citty of New York the one and thirtyeth Day of March in the third Yeare of the Reigne of our Lord and Lady Will and Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the faith &c before Joseph Dudley and Thomas Johnson Esqrs Justices to hear Try and Determine all and all Manner of Treasons Misprisions of Treason Insurrecc̃ons Rebellions Murthers fellonys &c Committed and Done within the Citty and County of New York Assigned.

The [Grand] Jurors for our sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen upon their Oaths Present that Jacob Leisler Late of the Citty of New Yorke in the County of New Yorke Merchant Jacob Milbourne Late of the Citty in the County aforesaid Merchant Peter Delanoy of the said Citty of New Yorke in the County aforesaid Yeoman Abraham Governeur Late of the said Citty in the County aforesaid Yeoman and Gerrardus Beekman Late of Midwout in Kings County Chirurgeon and Diverse other Murtherers and fellons of our Said Lord & Lady the King and Queen Unknowne the Seaventeenth Day [p. 2] of March In the third Yeare of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary Now King and Queen over England &c with fforce and Armes of their premeditated Malice upon Josiah Browne of the Citty of New Yorke Aforesaid in the County aforesaid Labourer At A place Commonly Called the Soney [*sic for* Stone] Street in the Citty and County Aforesaid in the peace of God and our Lord and Lady the King & Queen being Did make an Assault and The Said Abraham Governour With one hand Gunn of the Value of tenn shill[ings] being then Loaded with Powder and Bullets which the Said Abrām Govern[r] then and there in his hand Did hold and the Said hand Gunn On him the Said Josiah Browne Did Voluntarily & felloniously Discharge by which Discharge-ing he gave the said Josiah Browne one Mortall wound in the Right Side

[22] British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 1082, no 21 (c).

of his Body amongst his Ribbs of the Breadth of one Inch and of the Depth of Tenn Inches Of Which said Mortall Wound the Said Josiah Browne at New Yorke aforesaid in the County aforesaid Languished untill the eighteenth Day of March aforesaid and then the Said Josiah Browne at New Yorke aforesaid in the County aforesaid of the Said Mortall Wound Did Dye and so the Jurors aforesaid upon their Oath Say that the Said Abraham Governour Jacob Leysler Jacob Milbourne Peter De lanoy And Gerrardus Beekman and Diverse other Murtherers and ffellons of our Said Lord and Lady the King and Queen unknowne him the Said Josiah Browne in the stone [p. 3] Street in the Citty of New Yorke aforesaid in the County Aforesaid the said seaventeenth Day of March in the third Year Above Said of their Malice forethought in manner and forme above Said Voluntarily and felloneously Did Kill and Murther Against the Peace of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen their Crowne and Dignity.[23]

And the Said Peter Delanoy and Abraham Governour say they are not Guilty of the ffellony and Murther in Manner and forme as above they stand Indicted and upon this they putt themselves upon the Country and Our Sovereigne Lord and Lady by Thomas Newton Esqr Attorney Generall in their Province of New Yorke in Like Manner &c therefore the Sherriff of the Citty and County of New Yorke is Commanded to Returne the Names of Eight and fourty good and Lawfull men of his Baylywick which before he was Commanded to summon upon the Petty Jury for the Tryall of all Such Offences which should be presented to their S^{d}. Majestys Said Justices[24] twelve of Whome may Try the Issue above joyned between our Sovereigne Lord and Lady and the Said Peter Delanoy and Abrām Governeur and by Whome the Truth of the Matter the better be knowne

Afterwards (to Witt) the first Day of Aprill in y^{e}. Yeare of the King and Queen aforesaid before the Said Justices [p. 4] Came as well o^{r} Said Lord and Lady by their Attorney Generall aforesaid as the said Abrām Govern^{r} and the Jurors afores^{d}. (to witt) John Barbarie Simon Aranon Peter Niewkirke Samuell Verplanke Joseph Davis John Van Horne Tho. Mellton William Jackson George Roscarrick Giles Shelly Abraham Sandford & John Rose all of the Citty of New Yorke aforesaid who to say the Truth in the Premises being Chosen Tryed and sworne Upon their Oaths Say that the Said Abraham Governeur is Guilty of the Murther and ffelony in Manner and forme as above he stands Indicted and that At the time of the Murther & felony Committed as aforesaid he the said Abraham Governeur was possed of No goods and Chattles Lands or tenemt^{s} to their knowledge.

[23] This portion of the "Roll," the indictment itself, was drawn up by Thomas Newton, the attorney general. See his bill in the New York State Library (Albany), New York Colonial Manuscripts, XXXVII: 119.

[24] See the Commission of the judges above, p. 438–439.

And Afterwards (to witt) the Day and Yeare Last above s[d]. before the said Justices came as well our said Lord and Lady by their Attorney Generall afores[d]. as the S[d]. Peter De la Noy & the Jurors first aforesaid (to witt) Simon Aranon William Beacham Peter Niewkirke Samuell Verplank Dirk Vanderburgh Joseph Davis John Van horne Thomas Mellton William Jackson Nathaniell Mattstone[25] George Raiscarrick & John Rose all of the Citty of New York Aforesaid who to say the truth in the Premises being Chosen Tryed and sworne upon their Oaths say that Peter Delanoy is Not Guilty of the Murder [p. 5] And felony in Manner and forme as above he Stands Indicted.

Therefore it is Considered by the Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen now here that the said Abraham Governeur be Carryed to the place from Whence he came and from thence to the place of Execuc̃on and there be hanged by the Neck Untill he be Dead and the said Abraham Governeur is in Mercy &c.

And it is further Considered by the said Justices Now here that the Said Peter De la Noy goe hence w[th]out D[el]ay.

And it is Commanded that the severall sherriffs of the Severall Countys within this Province of New York Do Enquire &c.

[ROLLS OF THE TRIAL OF LEISLER ET AL. FOR TREASON][26]

City and County of New Yorke ss. PLEAS held at the Citty of New Yorke the one and Thirtyeth Day of March in the third Yeare of the Reigne of our Lord and Lady William and Mary by the grace of God of England &c King and Queen before Joseph Dudley & Thomas Johnson Esqrs Justices to hear try and Determine all Manner of treasons Misprisions of Treason Insurrecc̃ons Rebellions Murthers fellonys &c Committed and Done Within the Citty and County of New Yorke Assigned.

The [grand] Jurors for our Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen upon their Oaths Do present that Jacob Leisler Late of the Citty of New Yorke in the County of New Yorke Merchant Jacob Milbourne Late of the Said Citty of New Yorke in the County Aforesaid Merchant Peter Delanoy Late of the Said Citty of New Yorke in the County aforesaid Yeoman Abraham Govern[r] Late of the Said Citty aforesaid Yeoman & Gerrardus Beekman late of Midwout in Kings County Chirurgeon as false Traitors of their Most Sacred Majestys William and Mary by the

[25] Mattstone's name is not included among the list of jurors in Delanoys' murder trial in the "Proceedings." See above p. 442.

[26] British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, Class 5, vol. 1082, no. 21 (b).

Grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King and Queen Defend[rs] of the faith &c And Diverse others false Traitors Rebbells & Enemys of our Said Lord and Lady the King and Queen unknowne Not haveing the feare of God before their Eyes but being seduced by the Instigacon of the Devill the Duty [p. 2] Of their Alleidgance not Weighing or Reguarding and Intending Wholy to Withdraw put out and Extinguish the hearty Love and true and Due Obedience which good and faithfull subjects of their Majestys should beare and by Law are bound to beare towards our Said Sovereigne Lord and Lady the King and Queen they the said Jacob Leysler Jacob Milbourne Peter Delanoy Abraham Governour Gerrardus Beekman and Diverse others false Traitors Rebells and Enemys of our Said Lord and Lady the King and Queen unknowne the Seaventeenth Day of March and Diverse Days and times before and after in the third Yeare of the Reigne of our Said Sovereigne Lord and Lady William and Mary now King and Queen over England &c att ffort William henry heretofore called ffort James in the Citty of New Yorke in the County aforesaid falsely Malitious[ly] Traiterously & felloneously Designing and Intending their Said Majestys from their Royall State title power and Governm[t] of their Realme and Province of New Yorke aforesaid Utterly to Deprive Depose Cast Downe & Dis[in]heritt, & Warr sedition and Rebellion in their Said Province to Excite Cause and Levy Did Assemble and Meet togither & then & there with force and Armes (to witt) with Swords [p. 3] Baggonetts Pistolls & Oy[r] Instrum[ts] of Warr As well Offensive as Defencive their Majestys Guards and forces Expressly sent for the Defence of their Maj[t]ies[s]. Said Province & other their Majestys faithfull & Leidge Subjects in Warrlike and hostile Manner Malitiously Traiterous[ly] and felloniously Did Assault Wound Kill and Destroy And so the Jurors upon their Oath Says that the Said Jacob Leisler Jacob Milbourne Peter De la Noy Abraham Governour and Gerrardus Beekman and Diverse others false Traytors Rebells & Enemys of our Said Lord & Lady the King and Queen unknowne on the said 17[th] Day of March and Diverse other Days & times before and after in the third yeare Above said At ffort William Henry heretofore Called ffort James in the County aforesaid falsely Malitiously Trayterously and felloneously Did Levy Warr Against our Said Lord and Lady the King and Queen in their Majestys Realme & Province of New Yorke aforesaid To the Great Terror Ruine and Destruction of Diverse of their Majestys faithfull & Leidge subjects Contrary to the Duty of their Alleidgance against the Peace of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen their Crowne and Dignity & the forme of the statute in that Case made and Provided.[27] [p. 4]

[27] This portion of the "Roll," the indictment itself, was drawn up by Thomas Newton, the attorney general. See his bill in the New York State Library (Albany), New York Colonial Manuscripts, XXXVII: 119.

And the Said Jacob Leisler on the above Presentm^{t}. being Arraigned before the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen the Day and Yeare first above s^{d} to the same maketh no Defence but although solemnly Required any Answer to the Same to make Utterly Denyes and is mute to the same

And the Said Jacob Milbourne on the above presentm^{t} being in Like manner arraigned before the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen the Day and Yeare first Above said to the same Maketh No Defence but Although Solemly Required Any Answer to the Said Presenm^{t} to Make Utterly Refuses & is mute to the same.

And the said Peter De la Noy and Gerrardus Beekman Say they are not Guilty of the Treason and felony of which they stand Indicted in manner and forme as they stand above Indicted And of this they put themselves on their Country And our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen by Thomas Newton Esqr their Majestys Attorney Generall in their Province of New Yorke in Like manner &c therefore the Sheriff of the City and County of New Yorke is Command[ed] to Returne the Names of eight and fourty good and Lawfull men of his Baylywick which he was before Commanded to summon to be of the Petitt Jury for the tryall of all Such Offenders as should be presented to their Said Maj^{ties} [p. 5] Said Justices twelve of whome may try The Issue Above Joyned between our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen and the said Peter De la Noy & Gerrardus Beekman by whom the truth of the Matter may be the better knowne.

Afterwards to Witt the Sixth Day of Aprill In the Yeare of the King and Queen Above said before the said Justices of our Said Lord and Lady the King and Queen came as well our Said Lord and Lady by their Attorney Generall aforesaid as the said Gerrardus Beekman and the Jurors aforesaid (to Witt) William Beacham Andrew Groverade Joseph Davis John Van horne William Jackson Michaell Harden Giles Shelly Abraham Sanford John Rose Will: Boyle Daniell Butts and John Wattson all of the Citty of New Yorke Aforesaid who [to] say the truth in y^{e} Premises be Chosen tryed and sworne upon their Oaths say that the said Gerrardus Beekman is Guilty of the treason & fellony whereof he stands Indicted in Manner and forme as he stands above Indicted and that at the time of the Treason & felony Comitted he was possessed of no goods or Chattles to their knowledge And Afterwards to Witt the eight Day of Aprill in the Year of the King and Queen aforesaid before the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen came as well the said Attorney Generall for & on behalfe of our said Lord & Lady the King and Queen as the said Peter De la Noy and the Jurors first aforesaid (to witt) William Beachman Joseph Davis Abraham Sandford John Rose W^{m}: Boyle John Wattson Simon [p. 6] Arean Samuell Verplank Thomas Mellton Tho: Burrough W^{m}: Jackson &

Michaell Harding all of the Citty of New York aforesaid who to speak the Truth in the Premises being chosen Tryed and Sworne upon their Oaths say that the said Peter De la Noy is not Guilty of the Treason and felony of which he Stands Indicted in manner and forme as he stands thereof Indicted nor that he fled for the same.

Therefore it is Considered by the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen Now here that the said Jacob Leisler Jacob Milbourne and Gerrardus Beekman be Carryed to the place from Whence they Came and from thence to the place of Execuc̃on that there they shall be severall [y] hanged by the Neck and being Alive their bodys be Cutt Downe to the Earth that their Bowells be taken out and they being Alive burnt before their faces that their heads shall be struck off and their Bodys Cutt in four parts and which shall be Desposed of as their Maj[t]ies: Shall Assigne and the Said Jacob Leysler Jacob Milbourne and Gerrardus Beekman are in Mercy &c And it is further Considered by the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen Now here that the Said Peter De la Noy goe here without D[el]ay, And because the said Abraham Governour Stands already Convict[d] of Murther and felony before the said Justices of our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen now here that he be of the Above Indictm[t] Quiet[28] & it is command[ed] that the severall Sherifs of severall Countys Within this Province Do Enquire &c.

[ROLLS OF THE TRIALS OF COERTEEN ET AL. FOR TREASON][29]

Citty & County of New York } ss.

PLEAS held att the Citty of New yorke in America the One and thirtyeth day of March in the third year of the Reigne of Our Lord and Lady William and Mary By the Grace of God of England Scotland ffrance and Ireland King and Queen Defenders of the faith &c Before Joseph Dudley and Thomas Johnson Esqrs &c to hear try and Determine all and all manner of Treasons misprisions of Treasons Insurrecc̃ons Rebellions fellonyes murders &c Committed and done within the Citty and County of New yorke Assigned &c.

The [grand] Jurors for Our Soveraigne Lord and Lady the King &

[28] *I. e.*, Gouverneur was not required to plead to the second charge because he was convicted on the first.

[29] British Public Record Office, Colonial Office Papers, class 5, vol. 1082, no. 21 (d).

Queene upon their Oaths p^r^sent that Myndert Courten late of New Utricht in the County of Kings County Yeoman Thomas Williams late of Westchester in the County of Westchester Marriner Johannes Vermillie late of Harlem in the County of New yorke Yeoman & Abraham Brazier late of New yorke in the County of New yorke aforesaid Labourer as false traitours of their most Sacred Maties William & Mary by the Grace of God of England Scotland ffrance & Ireland King & Queen Defenders [p. 2] Of the faith &c And divers Other false Traitours Rebells & Enemyes of Our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen unknowne not having the fear of God before their Eyes but being seduced by the instigation of the Devill the duty of their allegiance not weighing or regarding and intending wholly to withdraw put out and Extinguish the hearty love and true and due Obedience which good and faithfull subjects of their said Maties should bear and by Law are bound to bear towards Our said Soveraigne Lord and Lady they the said Myndert Courten Thomas Williams Johannes Vermillie and Abraham Brazier and divers Others false Traitours Rebells and Enemyes of Our said Lord & Lady the King and Queene unknowne the seventeenth day of March and divers dayes and times before and after in the third year of the Reigne of Our said Soveraigne Lord & Lady William & Mary now King and Queen Over Engl^d^ &c att ffort William Henry heretofore called ffort James in the Citty of New yorke in the County aforesaid falsly malitiously traiterously and feloniously designeing and intending their s^d^. Maties from their Royall State Title power and Government of their Realme and Province of New york aforesd utterly to Deprive depose Cast down & dis[in]herite and Warr sedition and Rebellion in their said Province to Exert Cause and Levy did assemble and meet together and then and there with force & armes (to witt) with swords bionetts gunns pistolls and other instruments of warr as well Offensive as Defensive their Maties Guards and forces expressly sent for the Defence of their s^d^. Maties s^d^. Province and other their Maties faithfull & Liege Subjects in warlike and hostile manner malitiously [p. 3] Traiterously and feloniously did assault wound kill & distroy And soe the Jurors aforesd Upon their Oaths say that the said Meyndert Courten Thomas Williams Johannes Vermillie and Abraham Brazier and divers other Traitours Rebells and Enemys of Our said Lord and Lady the King and Queen unknowne on the s^d^ seventeenth day of March and divers dayes and times before and after in the third year abovesd at ffort William Henry aforesaid heretofore called ffort James in the County aforesaid falsely Maliciously traiterously and feloniously did levy Warr against Our said Soveraigne Lord & Lady the King and Queene in their Maties Realme & Province of New yorke aforesd to the great Terrour crime and destruction of divers of their Maties faithfull Liege Subjects Contrary to the duty of their Allegiance against the

peace of Our s[d] Lord & Lady the King & Queene the Crowne & dignity and the forme of the statutes in that Case made & provided.[30]

And the said Myndert Coarten Thomas Williams Johannes Vermillie & Abraham Brazier say they are not guilty of the Treason and felony in manner & forme as above they stand indicted. and of this they put themselves upon the County and Our said Lord & Lady the King & Queen by Thomas Newton Esqr their Maties Attorney Generall in their Province of New yorke in like manner &c.

Therefore the Sherriffe of the Citty and County of New yorke is Commanded to returne the names of Eight and fourty good and lawfull men of his Bailywick which before he was Commanded to summons upon the petty Jury for the tryall of all such offence which should [p. 4] Be p[r]sented to their said Maties said Justices twelve of whom may try the issues above joyned Between Our soveraigne Lord & Lady and the said Myndert Coarten and Johannes Vermillie and by whome the truth of the matter may the better be knowne.

Afterwards (to witt) the sixth day of Aprill in the yeare of the King and Queen aforesaid before the said Justices Came as well Our said Lord and Lady by their Attorney Generall aforesaid as the said Thomas Williams and the Jurors first aforesd to witt William Beacham Andreas Greveradt John Van horne Dennis Lambert Simon Arenoe John Crooke Theunis Dekey Peter Newkirke Samuel Ver Planck Dirck Vanderburgh Thomas Milton and Nathaniel Marston all of the Citty of New yorke aforesaid who to say the truth in the p[r]misses being Chosen tryed and sworne upon their Oaths say that the said Thomas Williams is Guilty of the felony and Treason in manner & forme as above he stands indicted and that at the time of the felony & treason Committed as aforesaid he the said Thomas Williams was possessed of no goods or Chattells Lands or Tenements to their knowledge.

And afterwards (to witt) the Eight day of Aprill in the year of the King and Queen aforesd before the s[d]. Justices Came as well the s[d] Attorney Generall for and on behalfe of Our s[d] Lord and Lady the King & Queene aforesaid as the said Abraham Brazier and the Jurors first above[s[d]]. (to witt) William Boyle William Beacham Joseph Davies William Jackson Michael Harding Abraham Sandford John Watson Simon Arenoe Samuel Ver Planck Thomas Milton Thomas Burroughs and Bernardus Hardenbrock all of the Citty of New yorke aforesd who to say the truth in the p[r]misses being Chosen tryed & sworne upon their Oaths say that the said Abraham Brasier is [p. 5] Guilty of the felony and treason in manner and forme as above he stands indicted and that in the time of the felony and treason Committed as aforesaid he the said

[30] This portion of the "Roll," the indictment itself, was drawn up by Thomas Newton, the attorney general. See his bill in the New York State Library (Albany), New York Colonial Manuscripts, XXXVII: 119.

Abraham Brasier was possessed of noe goods Chattells lands or Tenements to their knowledge.[81]

And afterwards (to witt) the fifteenth day of Aprill in the year of the King & Queen aforesaid before the said Justices Came as well Our said Lord and Lady by their Attorney Generall aforesaid as the said Myndert Coarten and the said Johannes Vermillie and the Jurors aforesaid (to witt) William Beacham Joseph Davies Abraham Sandford William Boyle John Watson Symon Arenoe Samuel Ver Planck Thomas Milton Thomas Burroughs John Eldrige George Rasserrick & Anthony ffarmer all of the Citty of New yorke aforesd who to say the truth in the p'misses being Chosen tryed & sworne upon their Oaths say that the said Myndert Coarten and Johannes Vermillie are guilty of the felony & treason in manner and forme as above they stand indicted & that at the time of the felony and treason Committed as aforesaid they the said Meyndert Coarten & Johannes Vermillie were not possessed of any goods & Chattells Lands or Tenements nor either of them to their knowledge &c.

Therefore it is Considered by the said Justices of Our said Lord & Lady the King & Queen now here that the s[d] Meyndert Coarten Thomas Williams Johannes Vermillie & Abraham Brasier be caryed to the [p. 6] Place from whence they Came and from thence to the place of Execuc̃on that they be severally hanged by the neck and being alive their bodyes be cutt downe to the Earth that their bowells be taken Out and they being alive burnt before their faces that their heads shall be severed from their bodyes & their bodyes Cutt into four parts which shall be disposed of as their Maties shall assigne And the said Myndert Coarten Thomas Williams Johannes Vermillie & Abraham Brasier are in mercy &c And it is Commanded that the severall Sheriffs of the severall Countyes within this Province of New Yorke doe Enquire &c.

A true Copy
M: Clarkson Secry

[Endorsed:] New York

Copy of the Rolls of the Tryall & Condemnation of Leisler & Milbourne &c Annexed to the speciall Commic̃on

[Red wax seal of the colony of New York.]

A° 1691
Rec[d]: 6[th]: Sep[t]: 1692.
B[undle] B
P[aper]: 5.

[81] This verdict is not given in the "Proceedings." See above, p. 446.

FORCING THE HUDSON RIVER PASSAGE, OCTOBER 9, 1776

Oil painting by William Joy (1803–1857) after the original by Dominique Serres (1722–1793)

FORCING THE HUDSON RIVER PASSAGE

OCTOBER 9, 1776

by RICHARD J. KOKE, *Curator of the Museum*

THE YEAR 1776 saw Independence declared in English America, but to the Americans who fought through the campaigns to the Christmas Eve at Trenton it was a year of disaster. The auspicious beginning for the American cause which had seemed so brilliant when the British evacuated Boston was followed by the collapse of the Canadian invasion and Washington's futile attempt to hold New York City. Long Island was lost in August, and in the following month the Continental forces abandoned New York in the broiling September sun to entrench themselves on the heights of upper Manhattan Island.

At the beginning of October the hostile armies watched each other from their fortified camps on either side of the Harlem flatlands and the Matje David's Vly. The lower Hudson River was open to the navigation of the King's ships, but the broad estuary abreast the northern end of the island was still controlled by the Americans and commanded by the cannon of Forts Washington and Constitution on opposite shores of the river—the former on the high ground at what is now Fort Washington Avenue and 183d Street, and the latter, soon to be renamed Fort Lee, on the summit of the Palisades in the present village of Fort Lee.[1] Furthermore, in addition to the forts and batteries, an irregular

[1] The fortification on the summit of the Palisades above Burdette's Ferry in New Jersey was begun in July 1776. For more than two months after its inception it was generally referred to as the post opposite Fort Washington, the post on the Jersey side, or the post at Burdette's Ferry. It was given the name of Fort Constitution in September 1776, and as such it was known at the time of the event described in this paper. On October 18 the name was changed to Fort Lee. The best account of its history is the treatise by Edward Hagaman Hall, "Fort Lee, New Jersey: A Sketch of its Revolutionary History," in *Fourteenth Annual Report* (1909), American Scenic and Historic Preservation Society, Appendix B (pp. 167–244). Another American defensive work called Fort Constitution, erected in 1775 and destroyed in 1777, stood on Martelaer's Rock in the Hudson River opposite West Point in the Highlands of the Hudson.

line of obstructions called a *cheveaux-de-frize* had been sunk by the Americans in the wide river between the forts along a line now spanned by the George Washington Bridge. It consisted of submerged vessels and huge stone-filled timber cribs from which long spars projected upwards towards the surface to ensnarl or sink any vessels driven upon their sharp-pointed ends.

Through the generosity of the Travellers Insurance Company The New-York Historical Society has come into possession of a fine painting which depicts a stirring naval action in the struggle for the Hudson at the *cheveaux-de-frize* while Washington was still camped within the fortifications on northern Manhattan Island. Throughout the hard-fought campaign one of the tactical objectives of the Royal Navy in the New York waters had been the severance of the American line of supply by way of the Hudson between the upriver forts and supply depots and the Continental Army on Manhattan Island, but this had met with only moderate success. In July two British frigates had successfully raced past the American river batteries to take station in the Tappan Zee and Haverstraw Bay for over a month until driven from the river through the daring of the American marine force.

Now, with New York in possession of the Royal Army, the British generals were making preparations to outflank Washington's position by way of Long Island Sound in order to fall upon the American flank and rear. At the same time the British naval command issued orders to send another squadron into the Tappan Zee to cut the Hudson River line of supply. There is good reason to believe, also, that the dispatch of the vessels up the river was intended as a feint to divert Washington's attention from the eastern Westchester shore against which the enemy was preparing to move. Three frigates were chosen for the enterprise: H.M.S. *Phoenix*, 44 guns, commanded by Captain Hyde Parker, who had been upstream with his frigate in July and August; H.M.S. *Roebuck*, 44 guns, Captain Andrew Snape Hamond; and H.M.S. *Tartar*, 28 guns, Captain Cornthwaite Ommanney.

The lack of wind prevented the execution of the plan until the cloudy morning of Wednesday, October 9. Taking advantage of the early tide and an easy southerly breeze, the three frigates, accompanied by two tenders and the schooner *Trial* (*Tryal*), hove anchor between 7:00 and 7:30 from off Bloomingdale and stood for the obstructions. As soon as the vessels were spied under way the American artillerists in the forts and batteries on the high grounds commanding the river—five on Manhattan Island and two on the Jersey shore—opened a heavy cannonade as the vessels came within range, but their fire failed to impede the progress of the enemy.

As there was little wind the squadron was over an hour in passing the fortifications, and the gunners on board returned some shots in reply to the heavy concentration of gunfire pouring down upon them. At the very moment it became necessary to watch for an opening in the *cheveaux-de-frize* which had been provided to facilitate the passage of American craft, the British pilot proved totally ignorant and Parker, who had already passed through the obstructions in August, immediately took charge and steered the same course with his lead ship as he had two months previous, where he found a broad channel and deep water near the east shore.

Most of the damage sustained by the vessels came from the shots from the well-served guns at Fort Constitution, which seldom missed striking the ships. The American officers watched the gunplay intently through their spyglasses, and Major General Nathaniel Greene, who commanded at Fort Constitution, could observe the commanding officer of one of the frigates pacing his second deck as if nothing was the matter while under the fire of seven batteries. By 9:15 the vessels passed the *cheveaux-de-frize*, and by 9:30 the cannon ceased firing as the squadron passed slowly beyond range of the American guns. The rear frigate made signal to the British ships below that all was well, and all five vessels stood steadily up the Hudson for the Tappan Zee.

The forcing of the Hudson River passage by the Royal frigates also brought about the loss of several American river craft which had been riding at anchor under the protection of the Fort Washington cannon. As soon as the squadron was observed under sail these vessels quickly hove their anchors and started to run before the British ships to escape their fire. Among them were the row galleys *Crane* and *Independence*, two or three sloops, a schooner loaded with rum, sugar, and wine, and two new large ships which were being prepared for submersion in the *cheveaux-de-frize*.

The *Crane* started to run first, followed by the *Independence*, and as they passed through the gap in the obstructions and proceeded northward they spoke to each other to decide their course of action. The officers first thought of manoeuvering the galleys into Spuyten Duyvil Creek at the north end of the island, but there was not enough water and they decided to make a run of it up the Hudson with the other vessels. The pursuit was one-sided after the squadron had passed the river barrier. At first the Americans were encouraged as they gained ahead of the British ships, but the breeze picked up and as the morning hours passed the British began to overtake the Americans and opened fire with their bow chasers.

The two ships intended for the obstructions, after running five miles, were beached near the Philipse Manor House at Yonkers, the schooner was captured by the British, and one of their shot sank one of the sloops. The two galleys, one mounting a 32-pounder and swivels and the other two 9-pounders and two 4-pounders, still kept ahead, but they fared no better. The frigates finally drew abreast the galleys and forced them towards the Westchester shore with rounds of grapeshot. At 11:00 the *Independence* was driven ashore above Dobbs Ferry and at noon the *Crane* was beached after making a twelve-mile run. Both vessels were quickly abandoned by the Americans and were taken possession of by prize crews from the British squadron who worked the galleys into deep water and secured them for

the service of the Royal Navy.[2] A few other small American vessels managed to escape.

Of no little interest, also, is the fact that the passage of the squadron resulted in the destruction of a little submarine craft on which the Americans had placed dependence to destroy some of the ships of the enemy fleet in the harbor. The sloop sunk by the British shot somewhere on the long river reach between the *cheveaux-de-frize* and Dobbs Ferry had carried on its deck a small curious-looking submarine machine built of heavy oak and bound with iron bands in the shape of a top. This was the *Turtle* constructed by David Bushnell of Connecticut, and equipped with many devices known in the modern submarine. Its seams were caulked and its bulbous outer surface was heavily smeared with tar to make it waterproof. It was large enough to hold one man who could enter through a hinged top. It had a rudder, tiller, valves, a water gauge, and a compass. Its bottom was weighted with lead ballast, and it was propelled by screw-like paddles operated by cranks from the inside. Not the least of its ingenious features was an egg-shaped wooden magazine fastened to the outside of the shell; this wooden egg, containing 130 pounds of gunpowder, could be attached by means of a sharp iron screw to the bottom of an enemy vessel, then detached and blown up by means of a clockwork mechanism after the little submarine had been propelled away.

Bushnell had high hopes for the *Turtle*. It had been brought down Long Island Sound from Connecticut and then had been carted overland from New Rochelle to the Hudson and sent downstream to New York where an attempt was made against one of the British frigates near Governors Island. The loss of the city and the withdrawal of the small American marine command forced the removal of the *Turtle* upstream on board the sloop,

[2] The report of Lieutenants Jeremiah Putnam and Nathaniel Cleaves of the *Independence* states that the galley was overreached by the British about 12:00 noon, and was run ashore at 1:30 in the afternoon (P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, II: 963). The citation in the text that the galleys were driven ashore at 11:00 and 12:00 is taken from the logbook of H. M. S. *Tartar*, published in R. P. Bolton, *The Bombardment of New York*, 61.

where it remained until the hasty decision of the American captains to escape on October 9 brought about the sinking of a submarine which was heralded as the first of its kind. Major General William Heath of the Continental Army wrote that the loss of the submarine by enemy action was "truly a contrast to its design."

The five vessels of the British squadron which had thus successfully passed the Hudson River obstructions cast anchor off Dobbs Ferry and later proceeded farther up the estuary to Tarrytown, where they remained during the entire period of the deployment of the American and British armies in Westchester County in October and early November. The ships did not escape the barrage of October 9 unscathed. Their sails were torn with shot and their masts and running riggings were severely damaged. The *Phoenix* received twenty-four cannon balls in her hull, her mizzen and mizzen topmast were entirely disabled, and her main stay and several of her lower and topmast shrouds were shot away. The boats were "much shattered," the booms on one side—including the spare topmast, two fishes, and several spars—were destroyed. The *Tartar* was hulled several times: one shot went through the mizzen mast and killed a midshipman and the splinters wounded the pilot and a lieutenant of Royal Marines. Nine men, including three midshipmen and a lieutenant, were killed on board the ships, and eighteen were wounded.[3]

[3] The return of killed and wounded on board the squadron, enclosed in Lord Richard Howe's letter of November 23, 1776, cites the following casualties:

	Killed	*Wounded*
H.M.S. *Phoenix:*	1 Midshipman 2 seamen 1 servant	1 Boatswain 1 Carpenter 8 seamen 1 servant 1 negro 1 private of Royal Marines
H.M.S. *Roebuck:*	1 Lieutenant 1 Midshipman 2 seamen	1 Midshipman 2 seamen 1 corporal of Royal Marines
H.M.S. *Tartar:*	1 Midshipman	1 Lieutenant of Royal Marines

The logbook of the *Phoenix* lists Midshipman Charles Boen as the officer killed on

To commemorate this dramatic event Dominique Serres (1722–1793), the eminent British naval artist, executed in three replicas a painting entitled *Forcing the Hudson River Passage*[4] for presentation to Captains Hamond, Ommanney, and Parker. For his theme Serres chose the critical moment of manoeuvre when the three frigates and their accompanying vessels passed through the *cheveaux-de-frize* near the point of Jeffreys Hook on the Manhattan Island shore. The view looks northward, the Palisades at the left and the Manhattan shore at the right, each crowned with American fortifications. Serres' faithful delineation of the correct positions of the forts and batteries inclines one to the belief that he probably utilized a sketch or memorandum, now lost, recorded by a British eyewitness, similar to the sketch made by Captain James Wallace which Serres used as the basis for his study of the American fireship attack on H.M.S. *Phoenix* and H.M.S. *Rose* on the Hudson in August of 1776.

At the left is seen the smoke from the guns of Fort Constitution and the batteries at the edge of the Palisades, below which is depicted the western landing place of Burdette's Ferry with American troops drawn up in formation at the dockside. On the right are Fort Washington and the batteries on Jeffreys Hook—one of which, the Riflemen's Redoubt, still stands in Fort Washington Park, while the little lunette depicted with modifications by Serres, which once stood at the water's edge, was long ago obliterated for the erection of the lighthouse which still stands at the tip of the promontory. The names of the frigates are prominently painted on their sterns, and in the river are seen a few of the projecting spars of the *cheveaux-de-frize*. The American row galleys and river craft, fleeing before the British, are observed in the far distance ahead of the invading squadron.

These paintings remained in the families of the three captains until recent years, when all came to this side of the Atlantic.

board that frigate, and Captain Hamond listed Lieutenant Leake as the officer killed on board the *Roebuck*.

[4] Also called *Forcing the North River Passage, 1776*.

The painting presented to Parker was purchased by J. Pierpont Morgan (1867–1943) and was formerly in his collection. The painting given to Ommanney, signed and dated 1778, descended to Mrs. Rowand of Lymington, England, a direct descendant of Captain Ommanney, and in 1932 it was purchased by Henry F. du Pont from Commander Rowand through the London firm of Stoner and Evans. This study is now in the Henry Francis du Pont Winterthur Museum in Delaware. The painting owned by Hamond, signed and dated 1779, descended to Sir Egerton Hamond Graeme, then to Sir Harry Hague, and in 1945 was purchased for the United States Naval Academy Museum at Annapolis.

From one of the three originals William Joy, a gifted self-taught English marine painter who was born in 1803, executed the fine undated copy—fully as excellent as the Serres originals—which has been presented to the Society by the Travellers Insurance Company. Joy practised at Great Yarmouth on the windy North Sea coast, exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1824 and 1832, and died at Chichester in 1857. The Joy painting of *Forcing the Hudson River Passage* formerly was in the collection of Mrs. Whitelaw Reid and then in that of her son, Mr. Ogden Reid, prior to its gift to the Society.[5]

[5] The British sources relating to the forcing of the Hudson River passage by the three frigates on October 9 are: Lord Richard Howe to Mr. Stephens, Secretary to the Admiralty, November 23, 1776, in P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, III: 816–17, 818; Captain A. S. Hamond to Lord Shuldham, November 7, 1776, in G. R. Barnes and J. H. Owen, ed., "The Private Papers of John, Earl of Sandwich, First Lord of the Admiralty, 1771–1782," in *Publications*, Navy Records Society, 1932, pp. 166–68; and the logbooks of H.M.S. *Phoenix* and H.M.S. *Tartar*, October 9, 1776, published in R. P. Bolton, *The Bombardment of New York*, pp. 59–61.

The American sources are: J. C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, VI: 190; [W. Heath], *Memoirs of Major-General William Heath* (N. Y., 1901), pp. 60–61; G. W. Greene, *The Life of Nathaniel Greene*, I (1890): 239; P. Force, comp., *American Archives*, 5 series, II: 961, 962, 963, 973, 975, 976; J. Quincy, *The Journals of Major Samuel Shaw, the First American Consul at Canton*, p. 23; B. Trumbull, "Journal of the Campaign at New York, 1776–7," in *Collections*, Connecticut Historical Society, VII (1899): 199; *Journals of the New York Provincial Congress*, II: 266, 319; H. B. Dawson, *Westchester County, New York, during the American Revolution*, pp. 226–30. A good account of David Bushnell is in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, III (1943): 348–49; and in I. N. P. Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, V: 997–98.

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

The Four Seasons of Manuela. Biography: The Love Story of Manuela Sáenz and Simón Bolívar. By Victor W. von Hagen in collaboration with Christine von Hagen. (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce; Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1952. x + 320 pages, bibliography, index, color frontis. $5.00.)

You know they used to say there was something nice about a book: "You could pick it up, lay it down, or throw it out." Well, here is one book you won't throw out and I doubt if you will even lay it down, once you get started.

Manuela Sáenz was born in Quito, Ecuador—an illegitimate daughter, so there was one strike against her at the beginning; then, she married an English shipping man who had a scaly reputation which didn't help any but she made up for lost time by becoming the mistress of Simón Bolívar and did everything she could to help him cast off the Spanish yoke from South American countries.

To be sure Bolívar's dream of a Gran Colombia was not realized—but who are we to criticize? The whole scheme came off better than even Bolívar could contemplate, and wasn't he hailed eventually as the George Washington of South America?

The sad thing about Mr. von Hagen's book is the Fourth Season—winter—where Manuela retires to the little town of Paita in Peru and there lives for twenty years unheralded and unsung. Manuela died in 1856 of an illness of the throat called "bobbio," at the age of fifty-nine. The malady was infectious, so all her effects—clothes, pictures, medals, letters from Bolívar—were burned. Did we say all? No, there was one single charred sheet of paper that had escaped the flames and on it could still be read in Simón Bolívar's handwriting: "The memory of your enchantments dissolves the frost of my years—your love revives a life that is expiring. I cannot live without you. I can see you always even tho' I am far away."

New York City George A. Zabriskie

Trail Driving Days. Text by Dee Brown and Picture Research by Martin F. Schmitt. (New York and London: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952. xxii + 264 pages, 229 photographs and sketches, biblio., index. $7.50.)

Fortunately, there have recently been assembled and published a number of collections of contemporary photographs of our pioneer period in the West. *Trail Driving Days* is one of the best of these, and together with the comprehensive text by Dee Brown, it is a real contribution to

the history of our growing up—a story as important as it is glamorous, for our experience during that period is a mainstay in the background of our national ethos.

The well-selected and well-arranged pictures of this large volume constitute a noteworthy documentation of the great cattle trade of the West. They cover the whole story from the beginnings of the overland drives out of Texas, to the masked riders who cut the "damned barbed wire fences" which fore-shadowed the end of a virile era on the fertile plains. This book is important because it commemorates one of the most pertinent phases of the development of the West, the hardy beginnings of many of our proud cities, as well as the rugged individualists of the day and the events which they created—with a fidelity that is beyond the skill of the historian. Words lack the power of expression to convey the truthful realism which is so easily gotten from a glance at the photographs of such historical factors as: Helena when that town was known as Last Chance Gulch; or Dodge City, Wichita, Abilene, Fort Worth and other frontier settlements as they were in the 1860's and 1870's; or Jesse Chisholm, the Cherokee trader, who marked out the famous cattle trail across Indian Territory into central Kansas; Buffalo Bill Cody posing beside Sitting Bull, with their hands clasped together over the business end of a well-used Winchester rifle; or Theodore Roosevelt as a rancher on the Little Missouri. It is this clear-cut documentary realism which gives these pictures their value; and the fact that photographs, as such, are very vulnerable to the ravages of time, gives added importance to their assembling and permanent preservation in a published volume.

Aside from any historical consideration, *Trail Driving Days* is a fascinating book, which can be perused, casually or seriously, for a few minutes or a whole evening, time and again.

New York City HAROLD MCCRACKEN

Foreigners in the Union Army and Navy. By ELLA LONN. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952. viii + 725 pages, including appendix, biblio; index. $8.50.)

To her well known *Foreigners in the Confederacy* (1940) Ella Lonn now adds an admirable companion volume on the armed forces of the Union. Like its predecessor, it is a product of diligent research. Miss Lonn begins by surveying immigrant life in the free states of the North and probing into the foreigners' attitudes toward war issues and their motives for joining the colors. The motley Union army of 1861 is minutely described—the composition of the rank and file, military units of various nationalities, foreign-born officers, and life in the camp and field. Immigrants in special services, such as chaplains, surgeons, engineers, and musicians are briefly considered, and scattered throughout the book are interesting vignettes of sundry idealists and soldiers of

fortune. Miss Lonn gives full attention to volunteering, the draft, the flagrant abuses in recruitment, and the extent of advancement within the ranks. In a special chapter, Miss Lonn deals with immigrants in the navy.

Although less than one-fourth of the Union fighting forces were foreign-born and the chief command was held by native Americans, the army was remarkably heterogeneous. The Germans and the Irish, as might be expected, produced many contingents, but national units of French, Scots, Welshmen, and others played their part. Hardly a regiment or company had no immigrant members. The Germans were everywhere. Every New York regiment included one or more Germans. Equally pervasive were the Irish, while in the west Scandinavians enlisted in most regiments.

A stranger to the Civil War would have been amazed at the conglomeration of nationalities in a single company. In preponderantly native regiments one might have seen seven or eight nationalities. The misnamed Mozart Regiment (Fortieth New York) was not, as one might expect, German or Austrian but a mixture of many peoples. In its Company E, two thirds were foreign-born, including British, Irish, German, Canadian, French, Polish, Italian, Swiss, and Belgian soldiers. The Garibaldi Guard (Thirty-ninth New York) was not Italian but mixed; so was the "Polish Legion" (Fifty-eighth New York).

German units are vividly described, such as those from Missouri, where the Teutons participated in the greatest numbers, the Wisconsin Turner societies, and the ten almost solidly German regiments from New York. The Empire State also supplied the most numerous Irish regiments—virtually all from New York City. Best known were the Sixty-ninth and the Irish Brigade. Massachusetts contributed two, including the "Irish Ninth." Miss Lonn gives fascinating accounts of the various Irish units, of Corcoran and Meagher and other spirited leaders of the men of Erin.

The only truly French and Scottish regiments hailed from the Empire City, the Fifty-fifth and Seventy-ninth New York, respectively. Among the smaller units were those of the Swedes, Norwegians, and Swiss, with New York providing the first Scandinavian unit. Lastly, three companies of Welsh, Dutch, and Mexicans, respectively, fought for the Union cause. How and why these men fought under a single banner become the basis of many an interesting story.

It is impossible in a brief review to do justice to the many colorful biographical sketches of immigrant officers, to the careful judgment of the effectiveness of foreign units, and to the portrayal of the war's effect on the foreign-born soldier as an American citizen. In undertaking her ambitious task, Miss Lonn pored over the lists and descriptive books in the War Records Office, and consulted diplomatic and consular papers, manuscript collections, printed documents, regimental histories, news-

papers, magazines, pamphlets, and published addresses. Autobiographies, memoirs, diaries and letters supplied invaluable personal material, evoking life from pages of statistics.

The statistics of the army's descriptive books presented difficulties such as might discourage a less ardent researcher. Proper primary data on foreign-born do not exist for the first year of the war, particularly since birthplaces were not recorded in early enlistments. Blank spaces on muster rolls were appallingly numerous. Owing to deaths, resignations, expiration of enlistments, and the addition of new recruits, personnel records are valid only for specific brief periods. Secondary accounts of national groups yielded clues to the classification of army units, but Miss Lonn had to use these carefully. Although she disclaims complete accuracy, hers is nevertheless as full an account as we are likely to have.

In one respect, however, it seems to this reviewer that Miss Lonn has fallen into a serious error. She is aware that each nationality group tends to exalt its own soldiers and "national traits," yet she does not recognize that the very concept of "national traits" reflects commonly held stereotypes. In most of her characterizations of immigrant groups it appears that she found what she was looking for and confirmed the stereotypes in her own mind. This apparently led her to accept at face value contemporary descriptions of foreigners reflecting the stock ideas of the period which agreed with her own. Thus the Irishman had quick wit and a sense of humor, zeal for combat, loyalty and pride in his unit. He was improvident, intemperate, impetuous, and slovenly. As compared with the Irish, the Germans were a conservative and stabilizing force, respectful of authority, persevering, patient, philosophical plodding men, industrious and thrifty, somewhat slow in response, but thorough, and inspired by some idealism.

The Hungarians, says Miss Lonn, had "*elan* and whirlwind vigor," the Poles "readiness and idealism," the English "pertinacity and loyalty," the Scots "stern steadfastness," the Swiss "quiet courage." Such ready characterizations are proven neither by the military record nor the stock verbalizations of the time. Such phrases as "phlegmatic Teutons" and "typical Irishman" and the frequent use of the term race (as in "Irish race") are as irritating as they are inaccurate.

A few omissions and a number of errors (most by misspellings) occur in Miss Lonn's long bibliography. Apparently she did not consult Andreas Dorpalen's "The German Element and the Issues of the Civil War" (*Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, June 1942), or she would not have stressed quite as strongly the anti-slavery sentiment of the Germans. Had she seen this reviewer's *Immigrant Life in New York City, 1825–1863*, she probably would have revised her introductory chapter at several points; but such bibliographical omissions are of minor importance.

Although the book's length and detail may scare off the general reader,

tudents of the Civil War will thank Miss Lonn for this handy compendium of personnel data and source of endless anecdotes. It is, in fact, he only book of its kind on the Union armed forces.

Adelphi College — Robert Ernst

The Architectural Heritage of Newport, Rhode Island, 1640–1915. By Antoinette F. Downing and Vincent J. Scully, Jr. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952. xii + 241 pages + 239 plates, index. $18.50.)

There are Americans who believe that Newport is just another summer esort, located in that odd corner of New England where dedicated utlers still perform their rites. But Newport, as all of us who have beome acquainted with the town are well aware, is much more than a social apital. Its history is at once rich and complex, and along its streets have trolled not only Ward McAllister and Henry James, but Bishop Berkeley nd Julia Ward Howe. As for its architecture, it is doubtful that any ther town in America can offer finer examples of more periods, from the own and country houses of the Colonial merchants to the palaces of the illionaires of the Age of McKinley. So everyone should be grateful that his sumptuous book, illustrated by over 400 photographs, has been published to remind us of Newport's unique architectural importance.

Since no one could be better qualified to judge the architecture of Newport than Mrs. Downing, authoress of *The Early Homes of Rhode Island*, we are lucky that she was asked to comment on all that happened rom the earliest dwellings to the monuments of the Greek Revival. Too nature a critic to think of divorcing a church or a house from its setting, he gives just enough of the social and economic background to deepen ur appreciation of that cornice or moulding on which we may have hrown too casual a glance.

Professor Scully of Yale, who carries the story to its conclusion, is a onscientious student of the informal cottages of the 1870s and '80s, stressng, like many other critics from Russell Sturgis to Talbot Hamlin, the nventive aspect of the shingled cottages created by McKim, Mead & White. He might have been wiser if he had not tried to tell us what happened after the last shingle was nailed in place, for his blood pressure rises dangerously at the sight of a palace, and it is with palaces, for better or worse, that the last pages are concerned.

Professor Scully is nothing if not forthright, and no one can accuse him f attempting to conceal his dislike for large and splendid houses. Many f the owners of the houses he describes may feel, however, that he is ccasionally too eager to express what is, when all is said and done, only is personal opinion. The owner of "Southside," for example, may not be leased to learn that "it is perhaps too large and too manorial," its interior somewhat pretentious" – and he may not be the only owner so offended.

The New-York Historical Society — Wayne Andrews

The Homes of America as They Have Expressed the Lives of Our People for Three Centuries. By Ernest Pickering. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1951. 284 pages, illus., index. $5.75.)

The qualifying phrase of Mr. Pickering's title sets the scope and the nature of the work. The problem of reviewing and analysing more than three centuries of the architectural history of the home in America in so slim a text is not an easy one. The author has solved the problem by both a neat chronological organization of the material and by a lucid analysis of the subject matter in the light of geographical, historical, and stylistic considerations. Despite a rigid exercise of selection he has conveyed to the reader a very great deal of the extent and richness of the traditions upon which America architecture has been built over the years. These are illustrated most tellingly by the many reproductions—more than two-hundred in all.

Mr. Pickering reminds his reader that domestic architecture in this country in its beginnings was, through necessity, mainly a functional one. He recalls that today, following a long period in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, during which time it wandered in a maze of eclecticism, American architecture has once again regained the straightforward simplicity of its early years. He notes, too, the peculiarly American characteristics which have triumphed, finally, over the host of extraneous superficialities.

This is a most useful handbook and a welcome addition to the literature of a general nature on American domestic architecture. It is particularly gratifying to this writer to find that several of the most intrinsically and typically American types may be found here; such as some of the less-well-known manifestations of the American Gothic.

The New-York Historical Society Francis W. Bilodeau

Appeal to Arms: A Military History of the American Revolution. By Willard M. Wallace. (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1951. 308 pages, illus., notes, index. $4.50.)

The wealth of literature which has appeared in recent years pertaining to the American Revolution has produced new evaluations of the war, scholarly treatises, and fascinating tomes of rich source material which throw new light on important phases of the conflict, its background and personalities, but the wider dissemination of the reappraisals thus brought out, eagerly devoured by scholars, has been slow in reaching the general public through works of a more popular nature.

Williard Wallace in *Appeal to Arms* has taken a step in this direction, and has produced a well-written, well-documented, and detailed one-volume military history of the war which will appeal both to the student

nd the general reader. The author leans heavily on the sound results of ecent scholarship, in addition to utilizing the customary primary and econdary sources which have long been standard works for such a study. Wallace fulfills a very useful purpose in bringing the war up to date, and *Appeal to Arms* should help to create a better understanding of the truggle and dispel many historical misconceptions which, through gen- rations of school textbook usage based on older histories, have become leeply ingrained in the American mind.

The New-York Historical Society RICHARD J. KOKE

Early American Gunsmiths, 1650–1850. By HENRY J. KAUFFMAN. (Harrisburg, Pa.: The Stackpole Company, 1952. xix + 94 pages, illus. $5.00.)

Gun collectors and students of the gunsmith's art will find in *Early American Gunsmiths* a very useful book which may well provide the mpetus for future research on some of the obscure gunsmiths who, by horoughness of research, have come to light in this excellent volume. A short chapter on gun collecting serves to introduce the lengthy al- phabetically arranged checklist of gunmakers which, though not com- pletely comprehensive, covers a period of two centuries and offers much new material drawn through careful research from primary sources such as directories, newspapers, tax lists, census reports, wills, church records, and State and court archives. The checklist entries bring to light much documentary material previously unknown and unavailable to gun col- ectors, and cite whatever data is available on each gunmaker, whether t be a newspaper advertisement, directory address, or a source citation rom a contemporary document. To the many fine volumes already published on American arms, the addition of Mr. Kauffman's treatise on the activities of new and comparatively unknown craftsmen who flourished briefly is indeed a welcome addition for the edification of scholars.

The New-York Historical Society RICHARD J. KOKE

As You Pass By. By KENNETH HOLCOMB DUNSHEE. (New York: Hastings House, 1952. 270 pages, index, appendices, illus. $10.00.)

Out of the fabric of New York City's old Volunteer Fire Department, which flourished from Dutch days until its abandonment in 1865, Ken- neth H. Dunshee, Curator of the H. V. Smith Museum of the Home Insurance Company, has created a vivid portrait of bygone New York which has been swallowed up by the modern city. It is a fascinating, handsomely produced volume which presents the story through the eyes

of the volunteer firemen who knew their city so well. From old diaries, minute books, and fire company archives, Mr. Dunshee has recreated the adventures of the volunteers and of the fires which, from time to time, ravaged the city.

The Volunteer Fire Department was the largest public institution ever known in New York. It had its inception in 1648 when Peter Stuyvesant appointed the first eight "prowlers," and it flourished until the year 1865 when, with over 4,000 men enrolled, the volunteer companies were abolished and the paid Fire Department came into existence. These volunteers served with no other pay than the thrill of adventure and the pleasure of companionship, and for generations they played a colorful and important part in the city's political and social life. Their votes were assiduously sought by politicians. Nine mayors of New York City were either active firemen or were elected through the efforts of the fire companies. Among their members were many of New York's leading citizens and businessmen, who willingly left their places of business and firesides on the sound of the alarm to take their places besides their comrades to haul their quaint fire-engines through the streets and alleyways to the holocausts which prompted their call.

Into this wonderful tale of firemen and firehouses, Mr. Dunshee has integrated much of the life of the metropolis as the volunteers knew it—its citizens, streets and watercourses, and the vanished neighborhoods and towns which once covered the upper regions of Manhattan Island. Many short chapters tell interesting anecdotes of landmarks and famous personages, and, of course, the fires and firefighters. The author has managed to recreate many living scenes of the past with character and atmosphere, and among the appendices is a valuable compilation of forgotten streets, once common to the New Yorker, which have either vanished or are now known by different names.

As You Pass By is profusely illustrated with more than five hundred pictures, many in color, and a series of specially-prepared maps which give considerable insight into the old thoroughfares and landmarks when New York was a city of small residences and shops. The success of this book is in no little way due to a series of superb charcoal sketches by E. P. Chrystie, reproduced therein, which recreate old Manhattan scenes, both in the city and county, in a realistic style never before attempted with such magnitude. These restorations are based upon conscientious investigation and authentication, so that all the structures and streets, with their panoply of people and vehicles, are correct representations for the various periods they portray.

This is a book which will appeal to all, whether the reader be a serious student or one who merely desires the enjoyment of a fascinating picture volume of the metropolis at the mouth of the Hudson during the early eras of its expansion.

The New-York Historical Society RICHARD J. KOKE

American Watch Papers With a Descriptive List of the Collection in the American Antiquarian Society. By Dorothea E. Spear. (Worcester, Mass: American Antiquarian Society, 1952. 76 pages, illus., paper bound. $1.25.)

Mrs. Dorothea E. Spear is to be congratulated on her interesting compilation and description of some 225 American watch papers, and on her introduction to their history and collection. Just as the cogs of the revolving watch wheel contacts many points, the apparently simple watch label touches on many diversified angles of business, social, and technological history. It is interesting from a purely advertising standpoint as well as from an artistic approach. The engraving and printing of these miniature illustrations furnish any student of the graphic arts with both joy and knowledge, and a glance through a magnifying glass at these cherished bits of Americana constantly reveals new data. The paper or fabric used in the printing of labels varies considerably, and we learn from a comparison of information gleaned the variety of goods sold, the prices current, the places and geographical spread of manufacture, and other stray bits of information, including the featuring on some of them of such contemporary historical events as the celebration of the Erie Canal.

Mr. Clarence S. Brigham has been a prime mover in collecting this type of ephemera for the American Antiquarian Society and is to be commended for his never-ceasing vigilance and the imagination he displays in guarding the treasures at Worcester. My own collection of watch labels at this Society, though comparatively modest, was started by Mr. Charles E. Tuttle of Rutland, Vermont, and consists of some 65 18th-and early 19th-century items. I am confident that others than collectors will be grateful for Mrs. Spear's list, alphabetically arranged by names of makers (whose history, with sources, she also gives), and that the Geographical List at the end of the brochure, wherein 207 watchmakers are listed at a hundred towns or cities in seventeen or eighteen States, will facilitate the further research of other students.

The New-York Historical Society Bella C. Landauer

The Navigation Acts and the American Revolution. By Oliver Morton Dickerson (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1951. xv + 344 pages, biblio., index, $6.00.)

Writing in a climate of opinion the precise opposite of the one in which George Bancroft wrote when he considered the relationship between the Navigation Acts and the American Revolution, Professor Dickerson has produced a definitive denial of that famous free-trade thesis. On its ruins, Dickerson has constructed this anagrammatic counterproposition: American independence, like the great rivers of the country,

had many sources, but the main headsprings which colored all the stream were the post-1763 revenue acts—not, as Bancroft had it, the earlier Trade and Navigation Acts.

Professor Dickerson's major thesis, therefore, asserts: that the Acts of Trade and Navigation were not regarded as a grievance; that there was a negligible amount of smuggling under them, since those Acts fostered a greater wealth in the Colonies than in England even; that the allegiance they helped to generate was demonstrated in the Seven Years War when the Colonies proved themselves to be "militantly loyal" to the Empire; and that because they developed a reciprocally advantageous trade, the Navigation Acts functioned like "cement" holding together one of the most nearly perfect systems of modern times.

The author's auxiliary thesis is designed to show how the revenue acts, adopted after the Peace of Paris in 1763, amounted to a constitutional revolution that rapidly dissolved the "cement of empire." Contending that the taxation provisions of the revenue acts alone were insufficient to provoke a revolt, Professor Dickerson places the major blame for the Revolution directly upon members of the American Board of Customs Commissioners, but for whose "unfortunate personalities . . . there might have been no Revolution." He therefore throws the spotlight on what he calls the "warm war" occasioned by the Commissioners' racketeering in connection with their setting up in America a centralized control over commerce. The author links the malicious policy adopted by the Customs Commissioners with that of the King and his "Friends" in England. The latter faction resorted to the revenue acts in order to divert the fortunes being made by American merchants in imperial trade—and incidentally the benefits to be derived from western lands claimed by colonials—into channels that would strengthen their political interests. So greatly does Dickerson emphasize the destructive influence of the British spoils system and political intrigues as practised by the American Board of Customs Commissioners, that he can assert: "*The actual separation of the continental colonies from the rest of the Empire dates from the creation of this independent administrative board.*"

Even though the offensively flagrant aspects of customs racketeering had been largely corrected by mid-1770, so effectively had the Customs Commissioners killed old loyalties that it took radical action at only the few major ports which had suffered most grievously to destroy the British connection altogether. After the destruction of the tea, the "Kings Friends" prevented a compromise by charging Americans with seeking to destroy not only the taxing power but also that main source of the Empire's wealth: the Navigation Acts. This argument proved so powerful that the governmental faction was enabled thereby to adopt the policy of establishing Parliamentary power by coercion and war became inevitable. Such is the burden of Dickerson's two theses.

Although a great deal has been written on the subject, this is a pioneer

work in the sense that it isolates and brings under magnification its commercial aspect, in the handling of which Dickerson injects new material, makes often shrewd evaluations of wholly negative evidence, and throws new light and emphasis on both a difficult and highly controversial problem. In so doing, he makes one of the most important contributions to our knowledge of the old British commercial system that has been made in years. Moreover, he invites differences of opinion; and of such differences this reviewer owns to a few which it is her hope to express in the same spirit as that in which the invitation was extended.

For instance Dickerson's allegiance to the old imperial system causes him to represent it as so nearly perfect that his conclusions and interpretations in their entirety and to the degree represented, based on cogent reasoning though they be, will probably not stand the test of time. It is doubtful whether compliance with the Acts of Trade and Navigation was as complete as he indicates or that the Colonies were as "militantly loyal" during the seven years' War as he argues. Moreover, the 1767 petition of the New York merchants indicates the existence of at least a small body of opinion that was dissatisfied with the old imperial system. While it is true that in general a return to the traditional policy was desired, Colonial advocation of such a return is not necessarily to be equated with the idea that the old system was highly satisfactory. Such an equation fails to take into consideration the fact that the Colonists were employing their most effective propaganda in placing their bids for Pitt's continued support. It is significant that in the *Address to the Inhabitants of Great Britain*, of 1775, when Colonial leaders were trying to combat hostile British propaganda by professing their willingness to submit to the old traditional system, they saw fit to qualify their assent to it. Thus they wrote that they trusted "in the Equity and Justice of Parliament, that such of them [i.e. the Trade and Navigation Acts passed before 1763] as, upon cool and impartial Consideration, shall appear to have imposed unnecessary or grievous Restrictions, will, at some happier Period, be repealed or altered."

Again: While Dickerson condemns the revenue acts, *retrospectively*, on the ground that their burdens of taxation destroyed trade, he fails to provide a pertinent critical analysis of the problems arising from Britain's position as a world power, facing a threatening burden of empire, with taxes dangerously high, which made imperial reorganization and the adoption of new revenue measures seem imperative to the mother country. This failure leads Professor Dickerson to describe Britain's colonial policy after 1763 in terms of corruption and the colonists' resistance to that policy in terms of ancient English liberties and so to see everything as black and white. For this reason his reduction of the vastly complex problems of British politics to the simplicity of unmitigated condemnation fails to carry conviction. In any discussion of the political background of the American Revolution the work of Lewis Bernstein Namier

and those of the revisionist school of thought he has inspired will have to be taken into consideration as surely as Dickerson's own work will have to be considered in future discussions of the Navigation Acts. Nor is the author's evidence linking customs racketeering in America with the British spoils system, and placing the whole blame on the oppressive program of the Customs Commissioners, conclusive. Trapped by his dichotomy, Professor Dickerson accepts radical colonial propaganda at something approaching face value. Moreover, he materially weakens his defense of John Hancock as a near victim of customs racketeering by admitting that Hancock laid the foundation for the "warm war" in Boston. For Hancock is pictured by Dickerson as an active opponent of the revenue acts who "went out of his way to show his contempt for the Commissioners of Customs and make them disliked in Boston" both *before* and after their arrival. In view of the fact that he has depicted the old imperial system as one that was less questioned than is the capitalistic system today, Dickerson's disclosure of the customs racketeering underlying the "warm war" often reads more like the exposé of a tea-pot dôme or mink-coat scandal than serious justification for revolt. Add to this the fact that he gives but a sectional and class significance to the "warm war," which is synchronized with colonial advocacy of a non-importation policy on a continental scale in order to force repeal of the revenue acts, and it becomes evident that Dickerson's auxiliary thesis (*i.e.* blaming so large a share of the Revolution on the Customs Commissioners) will bear a more moderate interpretation than the one he has felt impelled to give to it.

One acid test of whether or not the malpractices of the customs commissioners were powerful enough to kill the old loyalties to the Empire as effectively as Dickerson contends lies in the climate of opinion that prevailed during the first few years of the decade of the 70's—the period succeeding the era of customs racketeering. It is significant that it is a period the essential element of which was predominantly moderate. "A little discreet conduct on both sides," wrote William Samuel Johnson—who had just served as Connecticut's agent in England—to Alexander Wedderburn in October 1771, "would perfectly re-establish that warm affection and respect towards Great Britain for which this country was once remarkable." While from one of the major ports that had suffered—albeit less grievously—from racketeering came the famous ditty—later to be repudiated by Franklin:

> Know too, ye bad neighbours, who aim to divide
> The sons from the mother, that still she's our pride,
> And if ye attack her, we're all on her side,
> Which nobody can deny, deny,
> Which nobody can deny.

Professor Dickerson's theses would withstand the test of time the better, in the opinion of this reviewer, had he been content to limit his depiction of the era of customs racketeering to the less dramatic objective of explaining colonial hostility to the Customs Commissioners. Also, if he had given less emphasis to it and more to the development of what seems to be the logical conclusion to his belief in the inherent unsoundness of the revenue acts. For he might have argued that loyalty to the Empire was seriously impaired by the double policy of taxing in addition to regulating colonial trade and commerce and of rigidly enforcing all of the acts of trade—which policy was the more keenly felt as its concentrated burden fell on so few of the colonies. Even then at least a brief explanation would be required, for it was essentially the cumulative effect not only of the Acts themselves, but of the political, economic and social forces they released that provoked the Revolution.

As extensive as these criticisms appear to be, they are minor when one considers the tremendous contribution Professor Dickerson has made to a highly provocative subject. Whether or not one agrees with his conclusions, the student will find that Professor Dickerson has drawn on an exceedingly large body of material not readily available in this country, that he has presented his material in a clear and forceful manner and that he has contributed an impressive bibliography of contemporary writings. His work deserves careful study and consideration by every student of the American Revolution.

The New-York Historical Society E. Marie Becker

ACTIVITIES OF THE SOCIETY

Since the publication of the last *Quarterly* a new kind of summer activity was inaugurated. Mrs. Eulalie Steinmetz of the Children's Department of the New York Public Library conducted a story-telling hour in the garden on Tuesday mornings during July. The program was very successful and an enlarged program is being planned for next summer.

In July Dr. Vail was named a member of the Committee sponsoring the re-erection of the monument to Giovanni Da Verrazano in Battery Park. The monument was rededicated on Saturday, September 20th. On August 16th Dr. Vail was elected Vice-President and Trustee of The Society for Colonial History.

Labor Day marked the thirtieth anniversary at the Society of our distinguished Librarian, Miss Dorothy C. Barck. The occasion was celebrated at a party in the Board Room on September 25th, where the guest of honor was presented, along with other marks of the esteem of

her colleagues, with the following citation, prepared by the Director, and engrossed:

TO DOROTHY C. BARCK

In Celebration of Her First Thirty Years at The New-York Historical Society

A quarter of a century
And five more years
Is a good long time
In this vale of tears.

A good long time to wait on the readers
And answer all the letters that come your way,
A good long time to work for your living
And travel on the subway to Brooklyn every day.

You keep close track of all the dear old ladies
And send them pretty postcards from hither and yon,
You appear on the platforms of all of the conventions
And tell them how to do it in the programs that you're on.

So more power to you
In this vale of tears,
We hope you will last
For another thirty years!

A series of film programs entitled "The American Way" will be presented on Saturdays throughout the fall. There will be two showings; one at 10:30 A.M. for school children and the other at 2:30 P.M. for adults. This program is being presented in conjunction with the special exhibitions: HATS IN THE RING and VOTES FOR WOMEN.

On Wednesday afternoons at 3:30 throughout October and November the Education Department will offer a series of gallery talks on various sections of the collections presently on exhibition. Announcements of the subjects and speakers will be posted on the bulletin board in the main hall.

Mr. Marshall Bush resumed his presentation of organ music programs on September 14th and will continue during the fall.

The special exhibition "Votes for Women" will open on Tuesday October 7th. This exhibition will include many items pertaining to the suffragists and their cause.

On October 7th at 8:30 in the evening Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt will be the guest speaker at the first lecture for members of the Society. And on November 5th at 8:30 P.M. Mr. Milton Halsey Thomas will address the members on "Mid-19th-Century Life in New York: More Revelations from the Diary of George Templeton Strong."

On October 18th the School Art League will hold its first meeting here. The sculptor Wheeler Williams will speak on the subject "Magic With Clay." And at meetings of the School Art League on October 25th and on November 15th, Mr. Bilodeau will present a program related to the

MRS. STEINMETZ' STORY-TELLING HOUR IN THE SOCIETY'S GARDEN WHICH TOOK PLACE ON TUESDAY MORNINGS DURING JULY

special exhibition "Hats in the Ring," and on Saturday November 22d at 10:30 A.M. Malvina Hoffman will discuss the examples of her work which she has given to the Society.

The Regents of the New York Chapters of the Daughters of the American Revolution will meet in the Board Room on October 27th.

An exhibition of early lighting devices has been added to the group of exhibitions which the Society lends to the schools through the office of the Museum-School Coordinator.

Services offered to the schools by the Education Department have been somewhat revised and a new listing has been prepared for distribution. A calendar of events offered to the public by the Society has been printed and distributed. The calendar lists such activities as films, gallery talks, musical programs, special exhibitions, etc.

At the suggestion of the Education Department of this Society, Dr. William H. Bristow, Director of the Bureau of Curriculum of the Board of Education, will hold a meeting of his Curriculum Assistants here sometime in the fall. The purpose of the meeting is to better acquaint the schools through Dr. Bristow and his Assistants with the services offered by the Society and to encourage a wider use of the facilities by the teachers.

THOMAS W. STREETER (CENTER), PRESIDENT,
AMERICAN ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY

With past-president Samuel Eliot Morison (left)
and director Clarence S. Brigham (right)

On October 15, 1952, *The* [*Worcester*] *Evening Gazette*, by whose courtesy the above photograph is reproduced, announced that "Thomas Winthrop Streeter of Morristown, N. J., retired New York attorney and nationally-known private book collector, was elected 14th president of the American Antiquarian Society at the 140th annual meeting at the society library. . . . He succeeds Prof. Samuel Eliot Morison of Harvard. . . ." Mr. Streeter is the distinguished Treasurer of The New-York Historical Society.

RECENT ACCESSIONS

HOLOGRAPH letter from Henry Clay to David Webb, great-grandfather of the donor, dated Ashland, October 2, 1844, about his candidacy for the presidency. *Gift of Mr. Roy J. Bohlen.*

Sixteen circus handbills, 1858–1866, featuring the Denzer Brothers; 1864 Almanac of the Great National Circus. *Gift of Mr. Howard V. Denzer.*

Two letters from Theodore Roosevelt to Abram S. Hewitt, 1901; eight letters and receipts of Cooper, Hewitt & Co., Abram S. Hewitt and others; map of the Plan of the Attack of Forts Clinton and Montgomery, by John Hill (London, 1784); ten volumes of Moody's Investment Manuals for 1948 and 1949. *Gift of Mr. Norvin H. Green.*

Baby doll and clothes which were a gift to the donor at Christmas in 1889; black silk cape worn by donor's grandmother in 1854. *Gift of Mrs. Ralph H. Grinnell.*

Printed cotton kerchief of Clay and Frelinghuysen for the Presidential campaign of 1844. *Gift of Mr. George H. Higgins.*

Six tortoise-shell and horn combs, late 19th century. *Gift of Miss Esther Karst.*

Typescript of 158-page thesis: "Jacob Leisler and the New York Rebellion of 1689–1691," by the donor, 1950; photostats of L. C. British Reproductions of The Special Commission of Oyer & Terminer, March 26, 1691, for the trial of Jacob Leisler and his associates, PRO C.O. 5:1082 2 i(a), of three "Rolls" of the trials held under that commission, *ibid.*, 2 i(b), (c), and (d), and of the "Proceedings" of those trials, PRO C.O. 5:1037. *Gifts of Mr. Lawrence H. Leder.*

Three scrapbooks of James Stetson Metcalfe (1858–1927), dramatic critic, containing his reviews and theater programs; two books and a manuscript sheet of music presented to Mr. Metcalfe by David Belasco; John Drew memorial medal. *Gift of Mrs. Philip F. L'Engle.*

Drum used by Corp. John J. Dean (1842–1887), while serving in Co. B, 196th Regiment, Pennsylvania Infantry, July 1864 to Nov. 1864. *Gift of Mr. Norman W. Lippincott.*

Twelve photographs, one drawing and two sets of plans of the Percy Pyne residence, designed by William M. Kendall. *Gift of McKim, Mead & White.*

Thirteen indentures and insurance policies, New York City, 1793–1814, formerly the property of Anton W. Miller, grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mrs. Kenneth C. Miller.*

Six photographs, by Pach Bros., of the entrance hall, reception room, parlor and dining room of the Van Beuren house, 21 West 14th Street, New York City. *Gift of Mr. Cornelius von Erden Mitchell.*

Silver sugar bowl made by William Grigg, who worked in New York and Albany in the late 18th century; silver ladle made by William Gilbert, working in New York in 1767. *Gift of Mrs. Katharine Prentis Murphy.*

Collection of amateur periodicals and current leaflets and broadsides; ten picture postcards. *Gift of Mr. Beecher Ogden.*

Sixteen volumes which belonged to the donor's maternal grandfather, Joseph H. Edgerley of New York City; album of photographs by Sarony for the 100th performance of "The Two Orphans," March 27, 1875. *Gift of Mr. Melvin E. Robbins.*

Forty-four theatre and movie programs; ten historical volumes of current interest. *Gift of Miss Edna H. Robertson.*

Six scrapbooks, compiled by the donor, relating to the navies in the Spanish-American War. *Gift of Colonel George Ruhlen.*

Sixteen-page letter written by Harmanus P. Schuyler (father of the donor) to his parents, describing his Civil War experiences with the 1st Regiment, Wisconsin Volunteers. *Gift of Mr. H. Philip Schuyler.*

Two atlases and three maps, 1867, of Rosendale, Ulster County, N.Y., and of properties of cement companies there; seven volumes about France, England, and the Low Countries by George Wharton Edwards. *Gift of Miss Helen Burr Smith.*

Collection of newspaper clippings and photographs, 1930–1952, relating to fine arts, applied arts and crafts, old buildings, etc., gathered, preserved, and classified by the late Charles Messer Stow, editor of the Antiques page of *The Sun*. *Gift of Mrs. Charles Messer Stow.*

Oil portrait of *Jacob Weidenmann* (1829–1893) by Marguerite Weidenman (sic), 1891, daughter of the subject. *Gift of Miss Marguerite Weidenman.*

Scale model of the ocean packet *Albion* of the Black Ball Line, which sank on the Irish coast in 1822, with Captain John Williams, great-grandfather of the donor. *Gift of Mr. John Williams.*

Album of verses and two drawing books of Mrs. Lavinia Dorothy (Simons) Wright (1805–1869), great-grandmother of the donor; drawing book of her son, Charles Washington Wright. *Gift of Mr. Charles Lennox Wright II.*

THE NEW-YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

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